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SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF WORLD WAR III, Inc.

A Non-Profit Educational Organization

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ST. LOUIS J. LIONBERGER DAVIS Dear Sir

November 19, 1956

We respectfully call your attention to the enclosed statement on the Middle Eastern crisis issued by the Society For The Prevention Of World War III. The Society is a non-governmental organization accredited to the United Nations and unreservedly supports United Nations efforts to achieve a just and lasting settlement.

Among the major purposes for which the Society was founded in 1943, are

- a) "to prevent the occurrence of another world war by creating a permanent body of experts on international politics and economics to search and study the impelling forces and causes which have led to two world wars. . ."
- b) "to observe and examine changing conditions in world politics and economics and possible causes which might lead to a third world war"
 - c) "to announce and publish its findings, conclusions and opinions..."

In accordance with these aims the Society deems it a duty to make known its views on some aspects of the Middle East crisis. We seek an objective evaluation of the decisive ingredients which have turned the Middle East into a caldron of hatred and strife.

The Society's search for the truth and its endeavor to prevent World War III are the sole standards by which we discuss the critical situation in the Middle East.

Respectfully submitted,

SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF WORLD WAR III INC.

Approved For Release 2005/01/13 : CIA-RDP88-01315R5004004800117-7

Approved For Release 2005/01/13: CIA-RDP88-01315R000400480011-7 THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS

A statement issued by

SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF WORLD WAR III, INC.

A non-profit educational organization Accredited to the United Nations 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

Dedicated to the cause of a just and lasting peace, the Society for the Prevention of World War III supports unreservedly the efforts of the United Nations to master the present world crisis. At this dangerous moment, the United Nations possesses an unmatched opportunity to fix firmly its moral and material authority as the guardian of world peace.

The immediate focal point for United Nations action lies in the Middle East where the flames of war threaten to engulf the world in unprecedented catastrophe. The root cause underlying the ever growing discord in the Middle East is the failure of the states in that area to conduct their external relations on the basis of mutual respect and good will. If the United Nations succeeds in normalizing conditions in the Middle East, it will have a profound effect on lessening tensions and strife throughout the world. On the other hand, if the United Nation cannot prevent further deterioration, the danger of World War III will increase.

In making these observations the Society hopefully assumes that the realities of the Middle Eastern situation will no longer be masked. For years it has been politically expedient for statesman to pretend that there was peace in this vital area. By maintaining this false front, the forces of war have been encouraged while the United Nations has been inhibited from taking positive and effective action.

The Society does not pass judgment on the relative merits of Israel's case agains her Arab neighbors or vice versa. We seek an objective evaluation of the decisive ingredients which have turned the Middle East into a caldron of Approved For Release 2005/01/13: CIA-RDP88-01315R000400480011-7 The Society's search for the truth and its

endeavor to prevent World War III are the sole standards by which we discuss this critical situation.

The State of Israel born under United Nations' aegis found itself in a region turbulent with social discontent and militant nationalism. The populations of this area, however they strove to live in peace with their neighbors, have been caught in the maelstrom of ceaseless warfare. At first they were the victims of a war launched by the Arab governments to destroy Israel. Subsequently, the warfare became more subtle although in many ways deadlier. It was warfare based on terror and attrition. It involved hit-and-run raids, skirmishes, infiltration, sabotage, subversion and blockade. This "new type" of warfare was powerfully stimulated by hate inciting propaganda. Reason and self interest were terrorized into silence by artificially whipped up passions.

The blockade against Israeli shipping in violation of the armistice agreement of February 24th, 1949 and Security Council resolution of September 1st, 1951, signified continuation of the war by other means.

On March 23rd, 1954, eight members of the Security Council voted for a resolution to reaffirm the previous resolution of September 1st, 1951. This was vetoed by the Soviet Union while the Egyptian Government continued the blockade.

The determination to continue the blockade of Israel is seen by the fact that, after Egypt had seized the Suez Canal, it again refused the freedom of passage of Israeli ships and of shipping bound for Israel. The New York Herald Tribune (8/29/56) quoted President Nasser as stating, "since the Suez Canal runs through three Egyptian cities, the vessels of Israel with which Egypt is technically at war, are excluded." Thus, President Nasser publicly admitted that his Government was at war with Israel and that the blockade policy was part of the war strategy.

The war has taken its toll of human lives and property. Thus, incursions,

into Israel from July 1949 to October 1955 resulted in the slaying of 1039 unarmed Israeli men, women and children—In addition, a total of 2231 armed attacks by Arab forces upon the Israelis took place (Congressional Record, 6/4/56, Senator George H. Bender). In this connection, the Israeli Government more than a year ago, pointed out that the Mixed Armistice Commission had registered 1006 violations of the Armistice Agreement by Egyptian forces within a 7 months period.

The ceaseless ambushes against the Israeli population are symptomatic of the never ending war. Prominent in these raids were forces called "Fedayeen" encouraged and organized by the Egyptian Government. On May 28, 1956, President Nasser publicly declared:

"the Fedayeen, the Palestine army, which started as a small force of 1,000 men last year, is today great in number and training and equipment. I believe in the strength, the ability, the loyalty and the courage of this army. Its soldiers will be responsible for takin revenge for their homeland and people."

On August 31, 1955, the official Cairo radio declared:

"Egypt has decided to dispatch her heroes, the disciples of Pharoah and the sons of Islam, and they will cleanse the land of Palestine. Therefore, ready yourselves; shed tears; cry out and weep, O Israel, because near is your day of liquidation. Thus we have decided and thus is our belief. There will be no more complaints and protests, neither to the Security Council, nor to the United Nations, not to the Armistice Commission. Not will there be peace on the border because we demand vengeance and the vengeance is Israel's death."

"The Egyptian Fedayeen have begun their activities inside the territory of Israel after repeated clashes on the border during the past week. The Egyptian Fedayeen have penetrated into Jewish settlements spread out in the Negev to Beersheba and Migdal Ashkelon at a distance of 40 kilometres from the Egyptian border, and have taught the aggressive Israelis a lesson they will not forget. The Egyptian Fedayeen sowed fear and consternation among the citizens of Israel."

The character of the propaganda deluging the Middle Eastis also indicative of the never ending war. It goes beyond the normal practices of exhortation to patriotism as it whips the minds of the people into a state of blind hatred. Through this ceaseless barrage of hate-inciting propaganda the war psychosis is maintained at fever pitch. At that point the enflamed passions of the people merge with the physical assaults perpetrated by such armed forces as the Fedayeen. It Approved For Release 2005/01/13: CIA-RDP88-01315R000400480011-7

The Cairo Radio, 9/17/54 broadcasting in Arabic to the Arab world, said:

". . . we repeat Salah Salim's slogan: 'There would be no Egypt, no Egyptian revolution and Egyptian Army if Egypt would make peace with Israel.' Let all of us, O Arabs, repeat it once more: 'There would be no Egypt, no Egyptian revolution, and no Egyptian Army if Egypt would make peace with Israel.'"

On September 21, 1954, the Cairo Radio, broadcasting in Arabic to the Arab world, declared:

"The U N General Assembly opens its new session today. Each time we examine the UN Charter, we read its seemingly plausible effort to free peoples, to bring them happiness through peace, and to protect them from destruction. . The Voice of the Arabs wishes to tell you today not to believe in the United Nations, not to be deceived by its charter, and not to expect any good from it."

The Cairo Home Service (12/27/55) quoted Col. Anwar Sadat, Egyptian Minister of State:

"Our war against the Jews is an old struggle that began with Mohammed and in which we achieved many great victories. Today, we fight them in Gaza and in Sabha and everywhere. It is our duty to fight the Jews for the sake of God and religion, and it is our duty to end the war which Mohammed began."

On January 12, 1956, the Cairo Home Service stated:

"Peace between us and the Jews is impossible. As far as we are concerned the problem is a matter of life and death and not a dispute over frontiers or interests. Nor is it a difference of viewpoints which require mediation for settlement. . . This part of the world, that is, the Middle East, cannot hold both of us. It is either we or they. There is no other solution. . . Thank God that our leaders . . . know that poems will not achieve our aims. It is steel and bullets which will realize these objectives."

On April 9, 1956, the Cairo Radio broadcasted:

"The Arabs are determined to stress one fact, even by bloodshed: Israel must be wiped out."

It would be a disservice to truth were we to ignore the fact that the tone and content of this type of incitement have been continuously employed by the leaders of the various Arab countries. We cite below some examples:

President Gamal Nasser as quoted in "Al Ahram," Cairo, 10/15/55:

"I am not fighting solely against Israel, but also against World Zionism and Jewish capital. My task is to deliver the Arab world from destruction through Zionist intrigues which have their roots in the Unit APS OF THE LANGE O

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Deutschtum and America

By John Brown

PROF. OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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INTRODUCTION

The article "Deutchtum and America" by Prof. Brown of the Catholic University, Washington, D. C. is an excellent study proving the growing German influence in the cultural and educational spheres of the United States.

As the Society for the Prevention of World War III, Inc., considers Prof. Brown's article as a very valuable contribution to inform the American public about the German propaganda in the United States, we have obtained permission from the author and the editors of the "Journal of Legal and Political Sociology" to reprint Prof. Brown's article.

The penetration of America's cultural and political life with German propaganda is one of the most effective means of Pan-Germanism in its struggle for world domination.

Without the political and economic backing given to Germany in the United States, she would have never been able to prepare so thoroughly for the present onslaught. The resurrection of German power is due to a large extent to the systematic activity of well organized pro-German groups which have exerted growing influence on the political, economic and cultural life of the United States during the last decades.

We shall be very grateful to our readers if they would give us further information on any pro-German propaganda activity wherever they find it. This information will be kept strictly confidential if desired.

Society for the Prevention of World War III, Inc.

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DEUTSCHTUM AND AMERICA

by John L. Brown

To TRY to analyse in detail a "national character" is usually a vain and futile business. It is an evasive quality which tends to evaporate in discussion, but remains, nevertheless, very real. Nations, like personalities, do have dominant traits which appear early and persist, through diverse exterior forms, to the very end.

Germans, for example, were early obsessed with the idea of the Volk, of an organic Deutschtum, quite different from the normal conception of the political juridical state. It has been one of the prevailing motifs of their political thought and constitutes one of the outstanding symptoms of the mental derangement which has long affliced them.¹

I Persistence of "Deutschtum"

Even in the early 16th century we have a flood of tracts claiming that the Germans had been divinely selected as the fourth of the world monarchies predicted by Daniel, the greatest of European peoples. This "Ur-deutschtum" has a whole line of theoreticians and defenders, including Peutinger, Wimpheling, Luther, Melanchthon, Sleidan, and a great number of forgotten minor figures.²

¹ Verrina, The German Mentality, London, 1941; C. Brinitzer and B. Grossbard, Germans vs. Huns, London, 1941; Peter Viereck, Metapolitics, New York, 1941; Harold Butler, The Lost Peace, New York, 1942, are representative of the superabundant commentary on this subject.

² Cf. F. X. Wegele, Geschichte der deutschen Historiographie seit dem Auftreten des Humanismus, Monaco, 1885. Melanchthon, in his tremendously influential Chronicon Carionis says, for example: "God has endowed the German people with a signal honor in willing that they should control the continuation of the Roman Empire and be the chosen guardians of Europe." Likewise he contends (with later German historians following him) that the Empire of Charlemagne was a German Empire and not French. Sleidan, one of the most nationalistic of the German Reformation historians, wrote in 1588 a universal history within the framework of the "Four Monarchies", De quatuor summis imperiis libri tres, where he underlines the historical destiny of the German nation as the protectors

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The development of the ideas which we commonly label as Nazi can be traced in the works of the outstanding German philosophers and historians throughout the nineteenth century—we have been provided with an abundance of citations in books about Nazism to show that there is a line which passes from the Teutonic Knights, if you wish, through Luther, to Herder, Schlegel, Görres, Schelling. Hegel states baldly that the individual exists for the state and not the state for the individual: "The Volk as state is the spirit in substantial rationality and direct reality, hence the absolute power on earth."

Some elements of Fichte were also exploited, rather through conscious misinterpretations, as selections as Fichte für beutes testify. His works provide many passages which have a quite different sense. Those leading to Pan-Germanism, to totalitarian economy and to nationalistic Volkstum were the only ones which became influential in contemporary Germany. Adam H. Müller in his Ueber König Priedrich II (1810) declares that "the great federation of European peoples which will come some day as sure as we live, will also bear German hues, for everything great, fundamental, and eternal in all European institutions is certainly German." These themes engaged nearly every German writer and thinker of prominence throughout the nineteenth century-Friedrich List, Wagner, Nietzsche, Treitschke, Ranke. H. S. Chamberlain, writing to Kaiser Wilhelm II s rhapsodized: "And because the German soul is indissolubly linked with the German tongue, the higher development of mankind is bound up with Germany, a mighty Germany spreading far across the earth the sacred heritage of her language and imposing herself on others. . . . God builds today upon the Germans alone." G. M. Soloveichik, in New Europes" has sketched in succinctly the development of Deutschtum in the early twentieth century-Friedrich Naumann, author of mitteleuropa, which projected a "multimembered brotherhood" of states under German influence; Tannenberg with his "Greater Germany;" Moeller van den Bruck; Spengler.

of Europe and as a superior race, the worthy successor to the universal Roman Empire. This work was used in Germany as a text book even until the beginning of the 19th century, according to G. Mertz, Schulwesen der deutschen Reformation (Berlin, 1902), p. 333. In 1700 it was translated into French and employed as a school book for the instruction of Frederick the Great's father.

^{*} Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts (Stuttgart, 1938), p. 441.

ed. Ludwig Roselius, Berlin, 1938.

⁵ See Wickham Steed, "Pan-Germanism" International Affairs (XVII, Sept.-Oct. 1938), pp. 667-668.

⁶ G. M. Soloveichik, "Pan-Germanism," New Europe (III, July-August, 1943, pp. 19-21.

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The exaltation of Deutschtum is not a Nazi innovation but an abiding tendency of German thought. The theoreticians of the Third Reich are simply echoing the ideas that they had studied in school, of the classic writers of their race. If Hüber in his Verfassungsrecht des grossdeutschen Reiches⁷ asserts that "The German people forms a closed community which recognizes no national porders" he can find support in Fichte. Gottfried Neese, Herbert Scurla, Friedrich Beck and the countless other apologists of Blood and Soil have brought nothing new or unique; they have simply vulgarised what they already found in their national tradition:

II Anti-Nazi, Pro-German

Hence it is not surprising that a German who is staunchly anti-Hitlerian may not necessarily be "anti-Deutschtum" at all. In fact, it is only the rare exception who can put resolutely behind him, with a real effort of the will, the centuries-old Prussian preoccupations for the realisation of the dream of the "Greater Germany." As André Chéradame states: "La disparition de Hitler ne supprimerait pas le péril pangermaniste. Ce danger réside non dans un homme mais dans la mentalité du people allemand." In a letter to the New York Times of July 4, 1943, H. T. Kohlhaas, who describes himself as a "German-American" expresses the opinion that whether liberal, communist, socialist, etc., every German is a Pan-Germanist; that even refugees, while usually sincerely anti-Nazi, are saturated with objectionable and dangerous Germanic philosophy and hold exaggerated views about German might, German cultural and scientific contributions, and German organisational genius.

It is a fact that many of the most prominent German exiles (with a few notable exceptions) whether Aryan or Jew, reveal in their speeches and their writings a tendency towards Pan-Germanism, sometimes consciously, sometimes unconsciously, sometimes marked, sometimes faint, but inevitably perceptible. Otto Strasser is an extreme example of the convinced and militant Pan-Germanist. Denied entrance to the United States, he now lives in Canada and occasionally contributes articles to American reviews. In "What About Germany After the War" he pleads for a German federation (with the understanding that this would

⁷ Berlin, 1939.

⁸ Défense de l'Amérique (New York, 1941), p. 215.

⁹ Catholic World (156, Oct. 1942-March 1943), pp. 268-275.

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become the dominant force in Central Europe.) He warns against any attempt to dismember Germany. He is also eloquently certain (from another recent article in the Catholic World) that re-education by German anti-Nazis will be able to transform the hardboiled and fanatic Hitlerjugend. It is clear that Strasser is preparing himself in the hope that he will be able to play an important political rôle in postwar Germany. However, as Ernest P. Pisko writes in an article "Free Movements and not so Free," 10 "It would be entirely erroneous to consider Strasser an anti-Nazi because of his more recent actions. He is merely anti-Hitler, and this from personal motives. . . . There can be no question that a movement in which a man of Strasser's type holds power is anything but a free movement."

Prince Hubertus zu Lowenstein, former German youth leader and anti-Nazi, has been very active in this country, lecturing in many universities and frequently contributing to newspapers and magazines. In "Union Now With Germany" 11 he protests against any dismemberment of the present German state; "Germany should consist of those regions which are genuinely German, Austria included." He defends the cause of the "good German" in insisting that Germany and Nazism cannot be equated. "Perhaps it is because there are no Italian exiles who would be so vile as to identify their country with Fascism and who would advocate the destruction of Italy, while there are unfortunately Germans who have adopted this vile attitude towards their native land." His letter to the New York Times of August 22 is even more significant as an indication of how even the sincere Christian anti-Nazi cannot escape the strain of the Pan-Germanism. He insists first of all on the democracy of the German masses. These "good Germans" should not be "While a civilian cannot question military necessity, the student of history may say that the periods immediately after the overthrow of a despotic administration are those which usually lend themselves most readily to the rebirth of national democracy. If in the Axis countries that opportune moment should be allowed to pass unused or the impression created that benevolent foreign Gauleiters will take over where the native left off, a great chance for democracy will be missed. Under the shadow of foreign bayonets, no democracy strong enough to stand on its own feet can develop." All this adds up to the fact that there should be little if any Allied military occupation of Germany, that the task of rehabilitating and governing should be placed in the hands of

¹⁰ The Christian Century (February 18, 1942), p. 213.

¹¹ American Mercury (53, July-December, 1941), pp. 546-551.

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a "Free German Committee," composed of exiled nationals. The letter is at once a bid for power and a plea for an unpunished Germany.¹²

An article such as that of Wolfgang zu Putlitz, "Your German American Neighbor" 13 is more obviously brazen. Connected with the Nazi legation at the Hague until 1939, the author assures us that he has not taken out first papers and does not intend to. His rôle is to protect the German-American against the prejudice of his neighbors and to dispel any fears which we might have about a German Fifth Column, which he can characterize, even after the fall of France as "the great bugaboo of our age."

Until the rise of the Nazis, Count Coudenhove-Kalergi was widely recognised as the chief of a movement in favor of "Pan Europe." On the surface, the program was an extremely attractive one. However, it should be remarked that since Russia, as an "Asiatic power" and England as an "extra-continental power" were both ruled out, Pan-Europa could have been dominated only by Germany. In fact one observer has said that Count Coudenhove-Kalergi tried to achieve without war for Weimar Germany what Hitler's Germany attempted by force of arms. Since 1941 he has resumed his activities in the United States, with less of an anti-Russian tendency, for reasons which are very apparent. But there are no basic differences between "Pan-Europe" and the new "European Union."

Even a superficial examination of the articles written in the course of the past three or four years by anti-Nazi exiles will confirm the trends which have been indicated above. The old themes of Pan-Germanism, with certain variations of a political sort, recur again and again in the writings of Rauschning, of Friedrich Stampfer, Paul Hagen, Wilhelm Sollmann, and many others.

III The "Two Germanies"

All this is closely bound up with several extremely important issues which will affect the whole future of Europe and America.

Can we recognise the validity of existence of the "Two Germanies" the good democrats and the Nazis?

What will be done with Germany when hostilities end?

¹² On the unfortunate inadvisability of using German exiles for such rehabilitation, see V. M. Dean "What Future for Germany," Foreign Policy Reports (February 1, 1943), p. 285.

¹³ Harper's (184, Dec. 1941-Feb. 1942), p. 322-28.

These two questions are asked and re-asked in public discussion and in the press. Naturally, the anti-Hitlerians in exile are very anxious to convince the Allies that it is the Nazi criminals who are solely responsible for the war and not the German people. Such a distinction is both dubious and dangerous. Undoubtedly, there is in Germany a relatively passive group who find Hitler and his works revolting, but this does not justify us in treating the German nation as a thing apart from the policy of its leaders. It is true that the leader influences the actions of the masses; but it is no less true that the leader comes from the masses and expresses their spirit and their aims. Every people tends to get the government and the leaders which they deserve. Professor F. W. Foerster has devoted his life to combatting Prussianism and militarism and he sees Nazism as an authentic manifestation of "Deutschtum." In the Wall Street Journal of March 29, 1943, he writes:

"In any case it is a most misleading idea to differentiate the German people from the Pan-Germanistic madness of their Prussian and Teutonic leaders. We have to do with a kind of national drunkeness, with a real mass infection, produced by a century of Prussian propaganda, poisoning the entire people by systematic lies. Therefore, only a deeply penetrating 'de-lousing' and re-education can lay the basis of the New Germany cured of her national megalomania—a people which have abundantly proven that they are not able to resist the madness of their leaders must be put under a long guardianship—this is the only 'just peace' which can be offered to the German nation."

There has always been a tendency in this country to distinguish between the "good German" and the Hun, between the "good German" and the Nazi. This distinction arises from several factors. In the first World War we did not immediately witness the devastation of Belgium and the north of France. In this one we did not undergo the merciless bombing to which England was subjected, or the savage occupation which the Russians have endured, or the wholesale murder and devastation done with insane fury in other occupied countries. For the Englishman and the Russian, for the Pole and the Czech, the Norwegian and the Greek, it is difficult if not impossible to take such a distinction seriously. Here is a Polish opinion: 14

"It should be borne in mind that: (1) Hitler was and is supported by large masses of the German people. The Nazi movement in spite of its reactionary character was and is a popular one, the Volksbewegung as the Germans call it. (2) The Nazi and German military machine

¹⁴ Feliks Gross, writing in the New Europe (July-August, 1943), p. 3.

employs hundreds of thousands of people who have shown brutality and cruelty unprecedented in modern times, in dealing with their opponents particularly the peoples of the occupied countries. According to the United Nations Information Committee in London, 3,400,000 people were murdered in occupied countries before the end of 1942. For this many Germans share the criminal responsibility. (3) The first two points indicate that the destruction of the Nazi machine will not automatically produce the democratisation of the German masses."

IV Deutschtum in the United States

Large numbers of Americans of German ancestry have retained, to a greater or lesser degree, an abiding feeling of their race. They have been actively abetted in this by the activities of the VDA, the German language press in this country, and the numerous (some 20,000 it has been estimated) German clubs and singing societies. The great wave of German emigration which came to this country after the political fermentation of 1848 was composed of German democrats who, by and large, were accepting exile for the sake of their liberal opinions. Their achievements, the considerable rôle which some of them played in the development of this Republic has created a favorable atmosphere for the perpetuation of the idea of the "Good German" versus the "Bad Nazi."

V. The German Tradition in the Universities

Furthermore the culture of Germany has always exercised a considerable influence in the United States, especially during the nineteenth century. To examine one sphere which is particularly relevant for this study, the American system of advanced education has been preponderantly German in its origins and traditions. Until the foundation of Johns Hopkins there was no "graduate work" properly speaking. Many of the original Hopkins faculty had done their advanced studies in Germany. During the rest of the nineteenth century and through the early years of the twentieth, a German doctorate was almost a "morceau obligé" in a successful American academic career. The "elders" of the American universities were, for many years, the products of seminars of Berlin, or Bonn, or Marburg. They were imbued with the idea of the superiority of German Wissenschaft, perhaps since they had invested their own intellectual capital in it. They tended to regard French university life as something frivolous and "literary," while English univer-

sities were considered the pipe-smoking haunts of an idle upper-class. Even professors of Romance languages often would by-path Paris for Berlin and would return to the United States speaking French with an authentic German accent. Hence, academically, a kind of intellectual Pan-Germanism began to take root. Many of the virtues and vices of American research can be traced to Germanic origins--order, method, an exhaustive handling of detail, exact documentation, respect for the footnote, the cult of the quantitative.

VI The German Language Press

This admiration of Teutonic culture aided in differentiating the German immigrant from the Latin or the Slav, who were usually looked down on, aided in making him much more persistently German. For in a country like the United States, where the second immigrant generation has usually tended to lose the national traits of the parents and to abandon the mores and the language of the "old country," the German group has been remarkably tenacious. In some sections of the Middle West there are communities where until recently German was almost as common as English. The German foreign language press has fostered this feeling. Up until the time of the declaration of war, these papers were openly anti-British and isolationist. During the war, they are one of the most difficult to control. Constant surveillance has been necessary to prevent the inclusion of subversive materials. In some of these publications, official Office of War Information releases, when they were used at all, were printed in Latin type, while the rest of the paper was printed in Gothic, in order to make sure that the readers were well aware of the difference. An article published in the Neue Volkzeitung (an anti-Nazi weekly) called "A Nazi World of Fairy Tales in the U.S.A." gives a clear picture of the situation which existed until recently. In these papers (all of which claim to be sturdily American) there is no attempt at all to introduce the readers into American life. Instead, they present nostalgic, Pan-Germanistic visions of the "homeland." Take this fantistic passage from a novel "Fremde Welten" which was serialized by the Detroit Abendpost only last year. This passage appeared in the installment of November 22, 1942. The novel has its setting in Australia:

"... So you would be willing to return to Germany if you had the means?"

"O there is nothing that I long for more desperately. But unfortunately it is the wish for which there is no fulfillment."

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"But there is, there is," exclaimed Helga with a strangely transformed and radiating face. "I have the money to pay the expenses for both of us. . . . What do we care for the people in this hateful country?"

Then Helga took his sound right hand into both her own hands and like a shout of exultation it came to her lips: "We'll take the next boat—out into the sun—to our home country—to freedom—to happiness!"

For generations German Americans have built up in their minds a fantastic vision of the mother country, at once beautiful and wronged, the seat of the highest culture and the greatest scientific and organisational skill. Elmer Davis, when he was still a young journalist, stated in an article in the Forum in 1915 that the fatherland to which German-Americans felt themselves so strongly attached was a kind of Neverneverland. He was quite right when he added that the liberal Germany of the conception of many German-Americans was entirely different from the Germany of Wilhelm II—and entirely different from the Germany of today.

These and other factors make large portions of the population of the United States curiously susceptible to the "Pan-European" or more bluntly Pan-Germanistic solution of the problem of "what to do with Germany." Our approach to the whole question has been much less realistic than that of the British, who have a much closer experience with the Nazi state.¹⁵

Neither France, England, or Russia has any taste for a solution which would re-instate the "Good German" as the master of Mittel-europa.

VII German Area Study and its Importance

We are already preparing, in the form of the Foreign Area Studies which the Army Specialised Training program has set up in some 200

Germanies" as a basis for post-war negotiation. A resolution passed by the British Labor Party by a majority of 1,083,000 (reported in the New York Times of June 18, 1943) stated that the Germans who are opposed to the policy of their government are a very small minority, and that no permanent peace would be possible after the war unless Germany was completely disarmed and her "spirit of aggressive nationalism completely eradicated." Brendan Bracken, in the New York Times of August 28, is intransigent. In replying to those "silly people" who are talking about educating the Germans in the post-ward period as to the folly of

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of our colleges and universities, the reply to this central question of the treatment of Germany after the war.16

We are now training some 100,000 soldiers in the language, history, customs, psychology, political and economic structure of various foreign countries. They will be the ones who will carry out the details of the American occupation and rehabilitation of post-war Europe. In their hands rests the practical outcome of our attempts at a resolution of the German question. In campuses from New Brunswick to Berkeley, classrooms are crowded with young men who are following these courses in area study. For its concrete influence on the course of history, this is perhaps one of the most significant movements in large-scale education which has ever been undertaken. The attitudes which these students acquire, the directions in which their thought is directed will fix important trends not only in German history but in the history of all of Europe. It is imperative that they acquire sound and democratic ideas about the problem of Europe, that they should not be led astray, in their good will and in their ignorance of the complexity of the Old World, by teachers who are not thoroughly versed, both in the American tradition and in European background.

VIII The Problem of Teaching Personnel

To find teachers of this sort is admittedly very difficult, because the specialist will not suffice, because an integrated "area study" of this type has seldom been tried in the American universities. Few Americans, who have a broad and deep knowledge of European problems, in addition to a sound American formation, are still available, were never available, in fact, in any large number. The needs of global war have long since drained many of them into the intelligence services of the Army and Navy, the State Department, and into the wartime federal bureaus such as the OWI, the OSS, the OEW, etc. Most of those who remain are specialists in some branch of the philology or the early history of the area concerned, who know all about Vincent of Beauvais but nothing of

war, he would nominate Air Chief Marshall, Sir Arthur T. Harris, as the best "educator" on that subject.

¹⁶ For a brief description of this Foreign Area Study program, see *The Heruld-Tribune* for Sunday, August 29, 1943. In addition to this program which is designed for enlisted men and "is not an officers' training school although many of the graduates may become officers' later," there are various centers for more advanced "foreign area study" for officers, such as those at Yale and Harvard, and the School for Military Government at Charlottesville, Virginia.

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Otto Abetz, who know the history of the rise of Provençal poetry, but nothing of the rise of the Nazi party. They certainly could not be expected to render the most efficient service in this area study. Unless care is exercised "area study" can easily break down into conventional classroom teaching of the language of the country studied, with some accessory lectures on history, geography, and social features. Such a formation, geared to pre-war days when there was time for superfluous or irrelevant information which would have no immediate political or social consequences, is completely out of place today, when the principles taught in these Foreign Area courses must be put into practice by those who take them. The future reputation of the United States in Europe will in part depend on decisions that these students will take. For they will be in continued and intimate contact with the foreign populations, "both in waging the war and in maintaining the peace."

We must not have too many illusions about the quality or the extent of the previous preparation which these students have had for foreign area study, in spite of the fact that they were selected from Army trainees who had scored 115 or over in the Army General Classification test and had some knowledge of a foreign language. Many do not speak the language of the area in which they will be called upon to work with any real ease or fluency. Some are almost a-political or at best given to provincialism as far as the tangled skeins of European political movements are concerned. They are often willing to believe anything plausible which they are told. They know they must conquer Germany, but they have little idea as yet what ought to be done with it. Many are willing to take the easiest solution offered—the minimum of American interference, the restitution of Germany to the "good Germans" who will elect deputies and everyone will live happily for ever and ever-or at least until these "good Germans" have been mysteriously metamorphosed into Nazis and the whole structure will come tumbling down once again.

IX The German Professors in Exile

It is clear that the old line foreign-language teacher can be utilised in such foreign area studies only to a limited degree because of the limitation in his own training and experience.

There remains, however, a whole group of teachers, who are extremely eager, for any number of motives, to step in and assume an important role in the Foreign Area Study courses. They comprise a very mixed assortment of the qualified and the unqualified, the clever and the obtuse, the sincere and the frankly opportunistic. Since 1933, they have

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formed an ever-growing problem in the American university, a problem which has not yet been studied frankly and honestly, although it is of real importance in any attempt to analyse the recent sociology of learning in the United States. This is the group of the German professors in exile. There is no place here to assay the many contributions to American academic life, which such exceptional minds as Einstein, Cassirer, Panofsky and others have brought to this continent. Nor can we detail the problems and the tensions which have been created in giving a marked preference to this group over other European scholars. This can be sociologically explained, but not justified, by the aforementioned two factors--the part German scholarship played in the formation of American universities and the considerable number of German Americans who persist in their "Deutschtum." Something should be said, however, about the implications of their influence in the teaching of foreign area studies and their indoctrination of the students who will carry out the work of American occupation and reconstruction in Europe.

What are some of these implications? There is the likelihood that they will instruct their pupils, whether consciously or not, to think in terms of a Pan-Germanistic Europe, veiled as "Pan-Europe" or under some other tag. They will teach the danger of the disarmament of Germany, of the necessity of preserving intact the economic and social structure which the Nazis have built up in Central Europe.¹⁷

They will insist on the need of preserving German strength in order to prevent the "Communization" and the "Russification" of Europe. They will teach the essential differences between the "good German" of Goethe, Beethoven, Thomas Mann and the Nazi. They will even claim that the majority of the German nation was always anti-Nazi and anti-Hitler, but that they were forced to support the Party. But granted such a spineless population, which followed a leader in whom they did not believe, there is no guarantee at all but that in twenty-five years a new Hitler will arise to force the people into submission once again. To subscribe to this doctrine of the "innocent German people" after the political crimes committed by them and their leaders, is to

¹⁷ See the article, "To Solve the German Problem-A Free State?" of Upton Sinclair, in the New York Times, August 14, 1943.

¹⁸ W. F. Foerster, "Germany Ruled by the Nazi Spirit," New York Herald-Tribune, July 3, 1943: "In Germany the dynamic minority commands the nation's destiny. Therefore, it is no use to stress the peaceful type even if the peaceful are in the majority. They were never a serious factor when it came to shaping the nation's fate . . . What is the aim and purpose of telling the victims of the ruthless German type that there live innocent sheep beside the German wolves?"

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subscribe to a kind of moral anarchy, which completely abandons any belief in free will and moral responsibility which is the basis of any organised society.

And what has been the record of the "academic man" in Germany during the past ten years? The Universities, possessed of a prestige which is unknown in the United States, could have been bastions of resistance against Hitlerism. Unhappily, the professorial class revealed itself incredibly supine and irresponsible in the face of Nazi pressure. The Catholic and Protestant clergy were infinitely more courageous in insisting on the dignity of man and the rights of the individual conscience against the all-inclusive demands of the State. Some professors went over completely to the Party, taught even classical philology from a pure National Socialist point of view, converted the social sciences into a fanciful mythology of "Rasse." Others kept silent and hoped for the best. They remained quiet, perhaps did not wholly approve, but offered little or no active resistance. After all, their pensions were at stake. The academic pension in Germany had the same fatal and anesthetizing effect on the university group as the Civil Service and army pensions had on French official classes, who sometimes supported Pétain simply because the Vichy government offered to continue these stipends.

Undoubtedly, there were professors in the German universities who resisted whole heartedly the throttling of intellectual and spiritual life. On the whole, however, their behavior could be labelled as a "trahison des clercs." They felt it was possible to appease the Nazis. They felt that by sacrificing intellectual integrity and honesty they could save their pensions. In the end many found that in sacrificing honor to keep jobs and pensions, they lost jobs and pensions too. That lesson should have been made abundantly clear by the events of this war: to give up principles in the hope of maintaining things ends by the loss of both.

Such is the record of a troublingly large group in the German professorial classes.¹⁹

They pose essentially the same problem as that of the German people as a group. If the Nazis actually comprised such a small minority of the population, why has the Underground given so little sign of activity,

¹⁰ A serious study of the reaction of the Universities to National Socialism would be very worthwhile. The use of university professors as instruments in German propaganda abroad was particularly significant in the promotion of "Franco-German" relations, in which Sieburg, Abetz and others were particularly active.

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why there has been such slight indication of any popular resistance? 20 Why did the professors consent to nazify their courses, to abandont the highly vaunted objective of German science in order to prostitute it for the most sordid political purposes? Perhaps it was the "timidity" of the academic mind. Perhaps it was a tacit agreement with some of the basic principles of National Socialism which Hitler was presenting in a "popular" form. Perhaps it was a lack of conviction and a lack of belief in liberalism and democracy which made professorial resistance to Nazi pressure so feeble.22

At any rate, the German professoriat, in spite of striking exceptions, is not a group which inspires the most complete confidence.²⁴ They

24 Julian Huxley, op. cit. p. 30 estimates that by the autumn of 1937 about one-fifth of the German professoriate (about 2500 persons) had been dismissed. It is very significant that the four-fifths who remained made no protest against this intolerable situation. It must also be noted that some were dismissed because of non-Aryan ancestry who had been prominent champions of National Socialism in the Universities.

²⁰ Friedrich Stampfer, "The German Problem," New Europe (July-August, 1943) p. 14 gives the rather startling explanation that "There was no visible resistance for two reasons. Every attempt to resist would immediately have been punished by death. Moreover the opposition incide Germany preferred at that very moment a lost war to a won revolution. Those men and women did not want to foster a new stab in the back legend; they wanted to throw upon the Nazis the undivided responsibility of war and defeat."

²² In many instances there should be no talk of resistance at all. Cf. Heinz Pol, The Hidden Enemy: The German Threat to Post-War Peace (New York, 1943), p. 109: "In the spring of 1933, after the world expressed its first misgivings over the Hitler régime, about 1200 university professors, descendants of the manifesto-makers of 1914, issued an "Appeal to the Intellectuals of the World." This Pan-German élite 'gleichgeschaltet' by Hitler, thought it useful to declare that 'German science appeals to the intellectuals of the world to show as much understanding toward the stirring German nation united by Adolf Hitler for freedom, honor, justice, and peace as they would toward their own nation." See also on this connection "Der Fall Bergsträsser-Pro und Contra" in Aufbau July 4, 1942, pp. 14-15. Maximilian Scheer's "contra" is matched by the "pro" of C. J. Friedrich of Harvard University. The excellent pamphlet of Julian Huxley, Argument of Blood (London, 1941) states in describing the attitude of the teaching class (p. 23): "The Jew Emil Lask was the most important thinker that Heidelberg had produced for half a century. He was moreover the only member of his faculty who fell in the first World War. In the very building where he taught was affixed the notice, "Wenn der Jude Deutsch schreibt, lugt er." None of his colleagues protested. Such was the pall of moral cowardice that the Nazi terror draped over German learning." And later (p. 29): "Professors allowed their assistants to be beaten, driven into concentration camps, exiled with hardly a gesture of disapproval. They remained silent at the dismissal of colleagues in whose appointments they had had a share and by whose side they had worked for years. The merest handful chose to retire into the decent obscurity of private life."

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objected to the violence with which the Nazis deprived them of their jobs and of their pensions. But large numbers, it is clear, were secretly or subconsciously convinced of the basic tenets of the Nazi creed—the superiority of the German people, the bankruptcy of liberalism, the exaltation of violence and the "feeling of the blood," a revolt against the rational and the intellectual, a thirst for national expansion. We find no group coming forward to carry on the tradition of the "Göttingen Sieben."

It is this class which is now anxious to influence or direct the education of the American soldiers who will be assigned to work in Germany and to aid in the carrying out of Allied plans for occupation and rehabilitation. Miss Dorothy Thompson, in replying in the American Mercury (June, 1943) to the article of Kingsbury Smith "Our Government's Plan for Post-War Germany" (in the Mercury of April, 1943) protests against some of the details of these plans which seem to her unduly harsh; she states that we are preparing "gauleiters" to take over in a conquered Germany. It would be ironical if the term should take on an unsuspected exactness and our foreign area courses for Germany should tend to produce a group that should have accepted, by and large, the principles on which a Pan-Germanistic Europe would be based.

These courses are charged with dynamite, have the potentialities to do tremendous good or tremendous harm. They can be essential in the formation of administrators who will work towards the introduction of democratic ideals into the poisoned system of Germany; or they can produce a group which is in unconscious agreement with the Pan-Germanistic trends which persist in so many anti-Nazi exiles. Every possible precaution must be taken that the material presented in these courses represents a faithful image of the official policies of the United Nations and not the individual interpretation of an anti-Hitler pro-German. Basic sources and required readings should be provided by the government itself, in order to make sure that German area study does not become another possible instrument of "Deutschtum," a means which would contribute to the losing, rather than the winning, of the peace. Regular official inspection by native Americans who know both Germany and the traditions of their own country, should not be neglected; these inspectors should not only attend classes at regular intervals but should chat informally with the trainees, to determine the channels in which their thought is being directed, as well as to check on the fluency they are acquiring in the language. Otherwise Germans who remain strongly German in spite of being anti-Nazi, will attempt, with the best conscience in the world, to do everything in their power to convince their pupils of the necessity of preserving German unity and strength in post-war Europe. As E. T. stated in a letter to the New York *Herald-Tribune* (April 11, 1943):

"These attacks against unconditional surrender as well as other facts are proofs of a mobilisation of sympathy for the German people. In my belief, all those German anti-Nazis who are expressing such ideas are but Pan-Germanists. They have but one goal: to save German unity. They are strong opponents of any kind of dismemberment of Germany after the war. I heard even the other day one of these people telling an American forum: 'Prussia was the strongest bulwark of democracy.'"

X Themes to Avoid

Granted the present situation, precautions should be taken that themes such as the following (which are being elaborated with increasing frequency in newspapers and reviews) do not bulk too large in the presentation of German area study: "The two Germanies;" formation of a "Free German Committe" for re-education and rehabilitation; the organisation of a Pan-European Federation in which Germany would play a leading part; the preservation of the German economic organization of Europe; the punishment of Nazi criminals by the Germans themselves; resistance to the idea of "unconditional surrender"; the insistence on unique German contributions in science, arts, letters.

The campaign to perpetuate the myth of "the two Germanies" has been one of the principal efforts of the anti-Nazi pro-Germans both in this country and in England. It provides the ideological foundation on which their detailed proposals for the solution of the German problem rest. On these grounds, in "News from Germany" (September, 1942), the periodical of the German Social Democrats in London, the continuous bombing of the Reich is deplored since "the workers are well aware that this is a war against Hitler and not against the German people, and the Nazis rejoice whenever English bombs dropped on working-class districts promise to shatter this belief."

Hence it is argued that the Allies should make haste to form a "Free German Movement" that can take complete charge of the task of re-education, rehabilitation, and whatever chastisement may be necessary. Prince Hubertus zu Loewenstein is eloquent in his support of such a movement. In his letter to the *Times* (August 22, 1943) already quoted he writes: "German national committees formed abroad could do a work that no foreign military or civilian administration could ever achieve." He implies that the very notion of training American soldiers to act as an army of occupation and rehabiliation is a tragic error.²⁶

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Following also from the "good German" motif, is the plea that all the European nations must share the responsibility for the war. "Germany Tomorrow", a recent publication of the American Friends of German Freedom, reaffirms the position that Germany was not responsible for the last war; it admits that in the present conflict the problem is "different" but asks whether there is not a joint responsibility for the underlying reasons that led to the emergence of Hitler and the victory of Fascism. Friedrich Stampfer, in New Europe (July-August, 1943, p. 14) relieves the German people of responsibility for Nazism: "Neither the leaders nor the people of western democracies wanted to fight for the freedom of Europe." Gerhart Seger writing in the same periodical (p. 17) follows the same line: "But at this very point, already, I fail to see all the guilt on the side of Germany. The Inter-Allied Military Control Commission in charge of carrying out the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles did not support the Weimar Republic, which wanted to make Germany a civilian democracy."26

As a means of reintegrating the "Good Germany" into a European order, there has been much emphasis on the need for a Pan-European Federation. "If this is a war of liberation," pleads Paul Hagen, "there ought to be a democratic solution not only for the liberated victims but for Germany too." He disapproves of any solution which would seek security "in a drastic reduction of German strength by at least temporary dismemberment and by the preparation of a long-term occupation government." He proposes a democratic federation, something on the line of Count Coudenhove-Kalergi's plan. The proponents of such plans, however, do not give enough consideration to the possibility that such a continental federation would soon come under the domination of a militaristic, Junker Germany. Linked with this idea of federation are the arguments in favor of preserving the Nazi economic organization of Cen-

²⁵ See also the various letters of Mr. Fritz Ermath (New York *Times*, August 29, 1943 and the New York *Herald-Tribune*, August 1943) together with the able answer of F. W. Foerster, (New York *Times*, August 28, 1943).

²⁰ Seger's arguments about the Weimar Republic should be confronted with the statement of the former chancellor Wirth who wrote in the Luzerner Tageblatt, December 5, 1937: "As to German rearmament, Hitler simply continued the work which we begun by the Weimar Republic. The great difficulty was that our efforts had to be concealed from the Entente. I always had to appear polite and harmless... The truty of Rapallo permitted us military experiments on Russian territory. When Hitler came to power, he had to occupy himself only with the quantity of the army. The quality was due to our work, since the real military reorganization had been brought about by the Weimer Republic."

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tral Europe. Nothing would be more ideal as an instrument for the maintenance of Pan-German domination.

Admitting that the Nazi criminals should be punished, there is a growing campaign in some exile groups that such punishment be carried out, not by the Allies, but by the German people themselves. The Neue Volkszeitung (Oct. 10, 1942) editorialises: "In view of the steadily growing brutalities of the Nazis, President Roosevelt has considered it necessary to declare publicly that the United Nations after the war will appoint international commissions in order to judge all the Nazi criminals in regular courts. We believe that it should be much wiser if this judgment were passed by German courts, naturally after all Nazis and half-Nazis have been expelled from the ranks of the German judges." This is simply an invitation for the Germans to repeat the "punishment" which they inflicted on their "war criminals" in 1918. The Allies presented a list of some 900 criminals who should be tried before an international tribunal. Germany refused to consent to this, but agreed to punish the guilty before a Supreme Court in Leipzig. Out of a list of 45 names, 12 were actually tried, and only six convicted. All of these were given insignificant sentences. 27

XI Conclusion

In general, the drive for a negotiated or "soft" peace should be counteracted. The Casablanca program provided for unconditional surrender. If Germany managed to win a negotiated peace, the infuriated peoples of Europe who have for years been crushed by Nazi oppression would take their own vengeance-and none could blame them. There is being launched (in this country as well as abroad) a large-scale effort (to use the expression of F. W. Foerster) for the "mobilisation of sympathy" for the Germans. It is significant to note the growth of such organisations as the American Friends of German Freedom, which published "In Re: Germany" and the National Council for the Prevention of War, whose bulletin "Peace Action" is edited by Frederick J. Libby. Representative Clare Hoffman of Michigan in a recent "Town Meeting of the Air" (reported by PM, August 15, 1943) advocated "collaboration" with the enemy. "War pursued to the bitter end is a human tragedy " and the sooner we can stop it the better." A prominent anti-Nazi exile has labelled the demand for unconditional surrender as "essentially undemocratic and aggressively un-Christian." The technique of "mobilising sympathy" was well worked out after the last war, and the same methods,

²⁷ Sheldon Glueck, Trial and Punishment of the Axis War Criminals," Free World, November, 1942.

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refined and perfected, are being put into operation now, in order to salvage as much as possible of German resources for the "next war" which Goebbels is already promising the German nation. Even Dorothy Thompson exhorts us "to salvage Germany." Unless we are very careful Germany will succeed only too brilliantly in salvaging herself. A representative of one of the European subject nations, Dr. Alexander Loudon of Holland, in a broadcast on August 19, has envisaged the situation very clearly. "The Nazis will do the same thing they did in 1918. Now as in August, 1918, they are staging defeat . . . and preparing for the next war. . . . I sincerely hope that the Germans will not be allowed to surrender until they are completely crushed, until their Army, Navy, and Luftwaffe are individually whipped and their wartime commanders made to sign a document of defeat and unconditional surrender." The campaign for a "soft peace" is furthered by the fear that is being fostered by the Pan-Germanists that a thoroughly disarmed Germany will open the way for the "Communization" of Europe. There is the possibility that the generals and the big business men in Germany can deal with Russia, if the conditions of Britain and the United States are too harsh. It is to the advantage of the Nazis to create as much suspicion as possible among the Allies about the post-war settlement of Germany. Until there is agreement on this point, the enemy still has a valuable card up his sleeve.

Such trends must not go unnoticed. Every effort should be made to control them by means of a careful choice of instructors, by the use of reliable texts and readers, by frequent inspection by competent authorities. And there is always the additional danger that the foreign area courses may be used not only to present partisan political ideas but even to forward personal political fortunes. At any rate, the whole program is much too important not to be carefully controlled and co-ordinated. In the case of certain large centers, where there are competent and experienced faculties, well-stocked libraries, and previous experience in the organization of studies of this sort, there is in general no reason for any inquietude. In smaller colleges and universities, however, where 2 faculty of "regional experts" has been hastily assembled, where library facilities are often inadequate, where there have been no anterior experiments in presenting language and area studies, there is always the danger that a pro-German anti-Nazi could exercise a decisive influence on the tone and content of the training program. In such cases, we should be rehabilitating Germany, not for a lasting European peace, but for the waging of another war.

Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. (On Leave)

The hatred of the Arabs against the Zionists is very strong and there is no sense in talking about peace with Israel. There is not even the smallest place for negotiations between the Arabs and Israel."

President Nasser in a cable to Syrian President Kuwatly:

"Egypt will be glad when both her and the Syrian armies meet on the ruins of this treacherous people, these Zionist gangs, so that our dead may rest in peace with the knowledge that our countries have been liberated of all foreign encroachment."

(Near East Arab Broadcasting Station, Cyprus, 12/18/55)

President Nasser:

"The Palestine Army (Fedayeen) raised by Egypt has become a power-fully armed and trained force, and the duty of its soldiers is to take vengeance for their land. . ."

(Radio Cairo, 5/20/56)

President Nasser(7/26/56):

"The fight in which we are now engaged is against imperialism and its supporters and against imperialistic methods. It is a fight against Israel, the tool of imperialism created in the heart of the Arab world to obliterate our nationalism. But we will all defend our freedom and Arabism and will struggle to see the Arab Motherland extend from the Atlantic Ocean to the Persian Gulf."

King Hussein of Jordan:

"Jordan will fulfill its mission of vengeance in Palestine to the very end." (Radio Ramallah, 1/23/56)

"We swear before Allah and history to sacrifice our property and everything dear to us for the sake of Palestine, to guard all her holiness and Arabism. We will not lay down our arms until we regain our rights completely."

(Radio Ramallah, 3/9/56)

On October 11, 1956, an official Iraqi spokesman stated:

". . . They (the Arabs) must fight Zionism and its ally, the new imperialism, with the same spirit they fought before . . . Iraq and the majority of the Arabs consider that the question of fighting the Zionist cancer should come first, because this constitutes a great danger to the Arabs."

(Radio Baghdad, Home Service, 10/11/56)

President Shukeiri E1-Kuwatli of Syria:

"The present situation demands the mobilization of all Arab strength to elminate that state which has ari en in our midst. Israel is like a pancer only satisfied to feed on her own man-power but is also Approved for Release 2005/01/13: CIA-RDP88-01315R000400480011-7

assisted by world Zionism."

(Address before delegation of Lebanese Moslem youths, 4/2/56)

President Camille Chamoun of Lebanon:

"The Egyptian revolution was the beginning of the end of Israel. My belief is that Israel will not be elminated except by military states that are prepared to destroy her. Egypt today is a military state of the first magnitude and I think, that she alone can eliminate Israel. I hope in the near future all the Arab states will be organizationally and militarily prepared in a similar manner to Egypt. Then will we be able to say - openly and with certainty - that Israel has arrived at her inevitable end, and not just at the beginning of her end."

(Akhir Sa'at, Cairo, 10/12/55)

King Saud of Saudi Arabia:

"The Arab nations should sacrifice up to 10 million of their 50 million people, if necessary, to wipe out Israel. . . Israel to the Arab world is like a cancer to the human body and the only remedy is to uproot it just like a cancer. . . We don't have the patience to see Israel remain occupying Palestine for long."

(New York Times, 1/4/54)

Emir Fahd Saud:

"Israel represents western imperialism and world Zionism. Both are a cancer which has to be cut out of the body of the Arab nation. My opinion is that the Palestine Army will fulfill its task." It will achieve that which Abdul Nasser said about it: "I desire that the Palestine Army will write the most glorious page in the history of Palestine."

(Al Ahram, Cairo Daily, 6/27/56)

The facts mentioned above do not detract from the problems besetting the Arab peoples. Economic backwardness, disease and illiteracy weigh heavily on them. Such conditions breed unrest and do not create a climate conducive to peace. These factors form the backdrop of Arab attitudes towards other vital issues. For example, they strongly resent the plight of Arab refugees, victimized by the Arab war against Israel. They have noted with apprehension some extremist voices in Israel urging expansionist policies. Yet, it is a matter of record that extremist views have been categorically rejected by the overwhelming majority of the Israeli people and by their government.

By grossly exaggerating the importance of these voices. Arab propaganda Approved For Release 2005/01/13: CIA-RDP88-01315R000400480011-7

has tried to depict Israel as an "interloper", a tool of "Western imperialism" whose main purpose is to exploit and humiliate rather than to deal with the Arab peoples on an equal basis.

No matter what shortcomings may be ascribed to Israel's statesmen, they recognize that peace and progress for the whole Middle East depends in the first place on solid understanding with the Arab countries.

The Israelis know that the great economic and social problems including poverty and sickness in the whole Middle East can only be tackled on the basis of friendly cooperation.

On May 14, 1948, the independent state of Israel came into being. Its first proclamation was an offer of peace to the Arabs.

"We extend the hand of peace and good neighborliness to all the neighboring states and their peoples and invite their co-operation and mutual assistance. The state of Israel is ready to make its contribution to the joint effort towards the progress of the Middle East as a whole."

On May 11, 1949, upon Israel's admission to the United Nations, its Foreign Minister told the UN:

"The pursuit of peace is a treasured part of the Jewish heritage...
That pledge becomes an earnest and urgent appeal when addressed to our closest neighbors, the Arab states, and other nations of the Middle East. . . We are not aware of any serious conflict between us and our neighbors which could not today be resolved by peaceful negotiations."

On May 8, 1950, Israel's Foreign Minister told the Palestine Conciliation Commission:

"I wish to reaffirm categorically that the Government of Israel is willing to negotiate with any state which announces its readiness to conclude a final settlement of all outstanding questions with a view to the establishment of permanent peace."

Cn September 21, 1951, Israel informed the Paris Conference of the Palestine Conciliation Commission of the United Nations that:

"We are prepared here and now to extend to each and every one of the Arab states the offer of a pact of non-aggression. We should see in acceptance of this offer a real token of the Arab states' willingness to work toward the essential goal of this Conference the restoration of peace in the Middle Bast."

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On January 2, 1952, Israel's representative at the United Nations told the Ad Hoc Political Committee of the General Assembly:

"My Government instructs me to reiterate that a formal understanding with the neighboring Arab states remains a central objective of its policy. . . We sincerely invite the Arab world at this important juncture in its modern history to reflect carefully upon its decisive choice. If it desires, it can establish with Israel the relations which normally govern the intercourse of civilized states."

On September 28, 1953, Israel's representative told the United Nations General Assembly:

"My Government continues to uphold the vision of the Middle East at peace with itself, uniting the efforts of its two kindred peoples to heal the wounds of aggressive violence and reawaken the rich potentialities of the region for political, economic and cultural progress."

On May 10, 1954, the Foreign Minister of Israel told the Parliament:

"Israel is ready at any time to enter into negotiations with any of the neighboring states concerning either a final and comprehensive peace settlement, or any partial or interim arrangement aiming at paving the way towards peace."

On July 24, 1955, Isreal's Prime Minister told a United Press correspondent:

"If there is any Egyptian statesman who is ready to meet me to consider ways and means for the improvement of relations between Israel and the Arab states. I am ready at any time or place. . . "

On January 3, 1956, the Prime Minister of Israel before the Knesset said:

"We believe the maintenance of peace is preferable even to victory in war. We know that any war, even war in which we gain the upper hand, involves ruin and destruction for both parties and intensified hatred between nations."

The United Nations must succeed in bringing together both sides to the conference table where they can in dignity agree to a peace based on mutual respect and good neighborly relations. Such a peace must do away with the past relations in the Middle East which were attuned to the exigencies and strategy of incessant warfare.

Peace in the Middle East must establish normal political, economic and cultural relations among all the states and be in complete harmony with the Charter of the United Nations.

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Pan-Germanism in the United States

An expose on the activities of the Steuben-Society

By T. H. Tetens

Reprinted from "Prevent World War III"

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Pan-Germanism in the United States

BY T. H. Tetens

TERMANY lost World War I on the battlefields of Europe in 1918, but won the peace politically in the United States. This is no glib statement for effect. The fact that Germany won the peace in America can be demonstrated by literally hundreds of documents which, for some strange reason, have rarely, if ever seen the light of day. Long before their ultimate collapse in 1918, the methodical Germans had drawn up a complete set of blueprints for ways and means of nullifying an eventual Allied victory. Their prize plan was to destroy Allied unity through a series of political intrigues.

The most ambitious aim of these planners was to keep America out of the League of Nations; and to strengthen the available pro-German elements in America, so that Germany could continuously command a powerful political influence in the United States. With this political influence and with the economic help of America, Germany hoped to make a speedy recovery from the defeat of 1918. Close political, economic and cultural relations between America and Germany were to prepare the way for a new political future for the Reich.

STATEMENT OF FACTS

Objective historical research can no longer ignore the fact that the "miracle" of Germany's resurgence as a powerful nation during the Twenties was due very largely to the wave of pro-German feeling which swept the United States so soon after the conclusion of World War I. Without the powerful economic and political support of the United States, Germany would never have ventured to rebel against the Treaty of Versailles. It must be remembered that, in addition to astronomic loans that the Americans cheerfully advanced to the former enemy an amazing revulsion in American public

opinion led to an almost hysterical desire to help these poor Germans who had been misled and betrayed by their bloodthirsty Kaiser'— in short, the sentimental Americans were eager to help the Germans in any and every way, financially, politically and morally.

nancially, politically and morally.

The German High Command in World War I had ruled out the possibility of an American Expeditionary Force that would turn the tide of battle in favor of the Allies. This optimistic view was also entertained by the great majority of German-Americans, millions of whom were enrolled in a vast organization, whose

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primary function it was to exert political pressure and disseminate propaganda on behalf of the Reich. This great front-organization of the German-Americans was the Deutsch-Amerikanische Nationalbund (German-American National Alliance), founded in 1901.

During World War I, this organization had 3,000,000 active members and millions of additional well wishers and sympathizers; and was, in fact, the most powerful political pressure machine that had ever been seen in the United States. After a Senate Investigating Committee had spent over a year in 1918 in the case of the "Nationalbund" (as we shall call it for short), the investigation had revealed the fact that the Nationalbund was under direct orders from Berlin. In its report, the Senate Investigating Committee branded the Nationalbund a 'tool of the Berlin government.' The Nationalbund was found guilty of treason. Congress disbanded this organization.

FROM NATIONAL-BUND TO STEUBEN SOCIETY

The dissolution of this organization came as a heavy blow for German-Americans. They had dreamed of the destruction of Britain as a world power, and of the gradual Germanization of America. And now they had to face the grim truth. The economic resources and the military potential of the United States would inevitably lead to Germany's defeat. The German-Americans, who were heart and soul for the cause of the Fatherland and who had hoped for a glorious termination of the War, saw to their dismay that Germany was now doomed to defeat. But the leaders of the German-Americans—the brains—had not abandoned all hope. In the Spring of 1918, one month before the Nationalbund was ordered dissolved by the Congress, the leaders of the Bund met in New York, and discussed the situation at length. It was unanimously agreed that in the interest of Germany's future, German-Americans must stand united; for, so long as the German-Americans formed a solid bloc, their millions of votes would constitute a decisive factor in American politics, a factor which would make an inestimable contribution toward the speedy resurgence of the Fatherland after the disastrous war.

In order to anticipate the imminent dissolution of the Nationalbund, Rudolf Gronau, a fanatical Pan-German, and one of the leaders of the Nationalbund in New York, suggested that the Bund dissolve 'voluntarily' and that it continue to function under a patriotic sounding name such as the "George Washington League" or "Steuben Society." If the Bund was to continue with its subversive activities, it would have to equip itself with an innocuous, truly American name, to indicate, as Rudolf Gronau so shrewdly pointed out, "its strictly loyal character." (Rudolf Gronau: "The Army of the American Revolution and its Organizer," p. 145).

The negotiations which led to the founding of the Steuben Society took place in New York, early in 1919, at the home of the German-American physician, Dr. Franz Koempel. These preliminary conferences were devoted primarily to a discussion and definition of the principal objectives of the Society, and more specifically to the ways and means by which the activities of the late lamented Nationalbund would be resumed. The Nationalbund had made many mistakes; the members of the new Steuben Society were determined to profit by the experience of their predecessors. If they wanted

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to get anywhere at all with their program, they had to bear one thing in mind first and foremost: they must avoid arousing the slightest suspicion on the part of the authorities in Washington and of the public at large. The members unanimously agreed to adopt the name Steuben Society, and felt that the implications of the name Steuben, harking back to the American War of Independence, should convincingly demonstrate the organization's

"strictly loyal character."

According to Rudolf Gronau, the principal founders of the Steuben Society were well-known Pan-Germans, men who had long played prominent roles in German-American organizations and clubs, and who had long served as propagandists for "Kultur" with a K. Generally speaking, these men were professors, physicians, journalists and professional organizers and leaders of clubs. Rudolf Gronau includes the following men among the founders of the Steuben Society: Dr. Franz Koempel, S. de Lange, Rudolf Pagenstecher, Theodor Haebler, George Riefflin, Prof. Edmund von Mach, Gustav

Lindenthal, Edmund Stirn, Dr. J. Bullinger, Dr. Frank, H. R. Habicht, Prof. Walz, Dr. A. Busse, Dr. C. Kayser, Wm. Funk and Frederic F. Schrader.

For good reasons of his own, Rudolf Gronau fails to mention one of the most important and influential of all the Steubenites—George Sylvester Viereck.

Gronau's list also fails to mention the names of Ferdinand Hansen, the German agent, who was prosecuted by the American authorities for high treason, and Carl Nicolai, who was arrested as an enemy agent in World War I and who fled to Germany a few years ago just in time to avoid a second encounter with the Law.

All of these leading members of the Steuben Society, who lived to see Hitler's rise to power in 1933, became ardent Nazi propagandists in this country; and in this connection special mention must be made of George Sylvester Viereck, Dr. Franz Koempel, Dr. A. Busse of Hunter College, and Frederic F. Schrader, the latter distinguishing himself as one of the key organizers of the Nazi Bund.

THE OBJECTIVES OF THE STEUBEN SOCIETY

From the moment of its inception, the main objective of the Steuben Society was to aid Germany in overcoming the consequences of her military defeat. The prerequisite for any success in this direction was, of course, to dampen and ultimately eliminate anti-German sentiment in America. In the second place the Steuben Society was to be very exclusive, admitting only those men who were tried and true champions of the Fatherland, men whose loyalty had stood the acid test of the years 1917 and 1918. After lengthy and painstaking consideration, the conspirators decided that it would

be impractical to create a huge, unwieldly organization comprising hundreds of thousands, or possibly millions of members; it would be wiser, they decided, to mobilize a small select group, a sort of secret order, not to say General Staff. This Elite was to function primarily as the nerve center of the thousands of German-American clubs, associations, societies, and so on, which had managed to survive the War; and, as such, was to coordinate them with the ultimate objective of welding them into one powerful political entity. This solid bloc of millions of German-American votes would surely be a

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powerful factor in American politics—a factor constantly militating on behalf of the homeland overseas.

Needless to say, strategy demanded that the Steuben Society stress its 100% Americanism; and English was therefore chosen as the official language. In some isolated cases, politicians of part German extraction but with Irish names were admitted to membership in the Society.

The members of the Steuben Society were recruited mainly from the privileged classes among German-Americans: directors of important organizations and clubs, prominent businessmen, as well as politically active professors and physicians, publishers and journalists. Units of the Society were formed throughout the country and it was their duty either to resume relations with the local political machines of both major parties or to create political influence by promising to deliver so and so many votes. After two years of intensive underground activity, the Steuben Society had become a powerful political pressure organization, every bit as powerful as the old Nationalbund with its millions of members had ever been.

The Steuben Society's immediate target was the Wilsonian policy. The German-Americans reserved their bitterest hatred for Woodrow Wilson because, as they said, he had deceived and betrayed them. In 1916, many German-Americans voted for the re-election of Woodrow Wilson because they were confident that he would do everything in his power to keep the United States out of the war. At that time, a vast number of German-Americans were highly suspicious of the Republican leaders, many of whom were under the influence of Theodore Roosevelt. This dynamic ex-President of the United States had made a careful study of the aims of Pan-Germanism; and had eloquently demanded, after Germany's ruthless violation of Belgium's neutrality, that the United States enter the war without delay and do its share toward annihilating the last vestiges of Pan-Germanism and German militarism.

"VOTE PRO-GERMAN"

The Steuben Society's influence on American politics after the war was duly recognized and highly praised by the great mass of German-Americans. Subsequently, the Steuben Society made no bones about its activities and achievements.

"Much has happened since that small handful of men sat behind closed doors when the atmosphere outside was still charged with hatred and revenge, to decide upon a policy of concerted action that would unite American citizens of German descent around the rallying cry of: 'Our common weapon is the ballot'." (Editorial in the Steuben News, May 1933).

In 1924, the Steuben Society boldly declared that it was the duty of all Americans of German blood to vote as a single entity, not for the particular interests of any political party, but solely in behalf of German interests. The New York Staats-Zeitung, on August 31, 1924, published the following appeal:

"Steuben Day marks the first great step toward a new era of political self-assurance — an 'Independence Day' — which is to demonstrate that German-Americans have reached political maturity and independence, that they have broken their shackles and are about to play the role of leaders — a role to which their strength and their moral

and spiritual qualifications rightfully entitle them. . . .

"What more need we know about Steuben Day? Who does not heed the call of his blood? Who does not still

feel the smart of the old wound?"
The following appeal for German-American unity was launched at a meeting in Madison Square Garden in 1924:

"There is one language in America that speaks even louder than the national tongue: that is the language spoken at the polls. ... In the future, German will ring out clear and strong as the language of the ballot box. . . . This language will be written on the walls in bold and distinct letters, so that politicians throughout the country may see and understand. This handwriting on the wall will proclaim that German-Americans are united as one man, and that they will do everything in their power at the next election to place in office those candidates who have German-American interests at heart! . . . and that the German-Americans are numerous enough to elect the men of their choice." (New York Staats-Zeitung, Jan. 6, 1924).

The following excerpt further illustrates the manner in which the Steuben Society made a direct appeal to the fana-ticism—the 'furor Teutonicus'—of its

German-American audience:

"The name of Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben . . , shall be the guiding star of Americans of German descent, leading us on to victorious mobilization . . Steuben was a stern warrior, filled with that same 'furor Teutonicus' which once made the Romans tremble. We German-Americans must take our cue from him. For this is the spirit that wins! This is the goal for which the Steuben Society is striving: the German-American element must be molded into a fighting political power, filled with that

'furor Teutonicus' which inspires them to demand their rights and to fight for their rights . . . we must demonstrate once and for all that the Germans in this country constitute a mighty political factor . . . that we represent an electoral strength which holds in the bollow of its band the power to make itself heard and felt when it demands that justice be done! Anyone who has any pride in his race, in his origin, must not be found wanting today." (New York Staats-Zeitung, January 15, 1924).

These statements clearly show how the Steuben Society set out from the very beginning to bear pressure amounting to intimidation, not to say terrorization, in American politics. The strength and solidarity of the German-American element was exhibited for the benefit of the local political machines at mass meetings held all over the country. The above mentioned meeting at Madison Square Garden was described in the January 6, 1924, issue of the New York Staats-Zeitung as a "Kaiser maneuver" (sic!) for the coming

national elections:

"This display of 'furor Teutonicus' and this talk of a 'policy of concerted action'-meaning, of course, a formi-dable block of German-American votes -were designed to strike terror into the hearts of the politicians and to compel them to adopt an unyielding anti-Versailles policy. The whispering campaign circulated by the Steuben Society in 1920, to the effect that they intended o use he solid vote of millions of organized Germans as a whip, became their vociferous battle cry in the election year of 1924: 'The German-American racial group shall constitute a political fighting power' and 'the Germans (sic) must become a powerful political factor in this country."

At the National Convention of the So-

ciety in 1926, Dr. E. H. Arnold, a leading Steubenite, made an address in which he highlighted the all-important point that it was the Steuben Society's fundamental role to serve as the guiding genius, the General Staff, for the many millions of German-Americans. He said:

"A determined, well-principled and well directed minority can at any time do great things.... I ask that we may have a small compact body of well-informed, well-disciplined, active and willing workers.... If we have that, our organization may be held to be perfect." (Reprinted in the Steuben News, September issue, 1932).

Today, 20 years after that state-

ment was made, we are in a good position to appraise the results-namely, whether or not this 'determined, well principled and well directed minority was able to accomplish 'great things.' The record is now available . . . a record comprising thousands of pieces of evidencespeeches, articles, and resolutions—all demonstrating that the Steuben Society, this 'well-disciplined minority,' succeeded magnificently in nullifying the political guarantees of the Versailles Treaty-guarantees to which the United States should have given her full support. In short, there soon remained nothing to prevent Germany from preparing methodically for World War II.

AGENT FOR GERMANY

In a few short years, the Steuben Society had succeeded in robbing the civilized world of the fruits of victory over Pan-Germanism, a victory won at the cost of American blood too. To date, no book has appeared which presents anything like an expose of the close cooperation between the Steuben Society and the official and non-official representatives of the German Reich. The present contribution, which is necessarily only a bare outline of the activities of the Steuben Society, is the result of painstaking and exhaustive research. During the months devoted to this work, innumerable documents were consulted: the annual publications of the Steuben News, countless German and German-American newspapers, the pertinent literature on World War I and the post-War period, as well as untold numbers of speeches, official documents, resolutions and reports. On the basis of this mass of material, which includes many thousands of items, it can be stated without the slightest exaggeration, and without coloring the facts, that the Steuben

Society succeeded after World War I, in drawing a gigantic net of conspiracy over the entire United States, influencing high ranking members of the major political parties, both in national and local politics. Influential members of university faculties, prominent businessment and industrialists, churchmen, publishers and journalists, and, indeed, prominent personalities in every walk of life became involved in this conspiracy.

It is an unchallenged fact that the Steuben Society, from its very inception operated in the United States as an agent of the German Reich, with the prime objective of protecting Germany from the consequences of her military defeat.

Thanks to the millions of voters it directly controlled, the Steuben Society was manifestly in a position to influence the attitude of both parties in important questions of domestic and foreign policy. The Steuben Society cleverly camouflaged its function as the most powerful propaganda machine in the United States; day by day, its ideas and slogans were slyly suggested

to American public opinion through tens of thousands of channels, without the name of this German propaganda agency ever becoming known to the average citizen. The speeches of many a Senator and Congressman attacking the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations, expressed the views of the Steuben Society. For example, the pro-German and anti-British propaganda campaign of Congressman Hamilton Fish-a campaign which assumed gigantic proportions at a time when the German General Staff was feverishly preparing for the conquest of the world—was influenced and partly financed by a group of leading Steubenites. The American newspaper reader, who was deluged with scare headlines screaming the most outrageous complaints against the "war-mongering" Roosevelt Administration, could not be expected to guess that Hamilton Fish and other isolationist Congressmen and Senators were merely mouthpieces for propaganda which stemmed from the Steuben Society.

In 1939, the Steuben Society called upon its wealthier members to raise a sum of at least 100,000 dollars in order to finance the isolationist propaganda campaign of Congressman Hamilton Fish. (New York Staats-Zeitung, July 4, 1939). Fish received a few thousand dollars from the Steubenite and pro-German sympathizer Gunther Hansen-Sturm, Germanborn officer of Romanoff Caviar Co. in New York.

To date, the close relations between Hamilton Fish and the Steuben Society, which began shortly after World War I, as well as the financing of the isolationist propaganda through the Steubenites, have never been thoroughly investigated.

Now let us go back to the early Twen-

ties when the Steuben Society first launched its propaganda campaign. The ink was hardly dry on the Versailles Treaty when the first German agent landed in the United States to organize the whining campaign for the "poor, defeated German people." Thereafter, a motley crew of German propagandists and former officers streamed into the country disguised as professors, lecturers, salesmen, ministers or journalists. All of them, without a single exception, had but one task to accomplish: to organize and regiment the German-Americans into veritable battalions of propaganda against the Versailles Treaty and the League of Nations. This world-wide propaganda campaign, which was to be waged most intensively in the United States, was directed by the German General Staff. The working headquarters for this campaign bore the in-nocuous title of "Arbeits gemeinschaft Deutscher Verbaende" (Federation of German Clubs). This name served as a front for all the reactionary, Pan-German and military groups which had been the real rulers of Germany behind the facade of the Weimar Republic. The "Arbeitsgemeinschaft Deutscher Verbaende" comprised, not only the leading industrial organizations and the various Junker organizations, but also the whole gamut of Pan-German groups, including notably officers' associations, veterans' associations, associations of former colonials. Under the supreme guidance of the "Arbeitsgemeinschaft Deutscher Verbaende," countless propaganda agencies of all kinds, operating each in its own field—in academic circles, among professional men, farmers, and so on—all pursued the single objective of reaching the 35 million people of German descent scattered all over the globe.

THE FOUR AIMS

The German propaganda machine scored a great initial triumph when it expedited the release of erstwhile German property that had been seized by the Enemy Alien Property Custodian in the United States. Substantial sums were credited to the accounts of German firms in America, with the understanding that a part of this money was to be used to turther German propaganda in the United States. The Steuben Society has boasted time and again that it had spearheaded the fight for the return of German property. In the course of the festivities celebrating the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Steuben Society, an official statement reported on the Society's achievements in the following glowing terms:

"We have been using moral persuasion as our greatest political weapon. ... We have worked unremittingly towards the end that justice may be served. We have done our share in working to have enemy alien property restored. In this we have demonstrated that we do not believe in the principle of confiscation. We are ever on the alert to have the question of the war guilt clarified, because we know that as long as the Treaty of Versailles is the status quo, justice cannot prevail." (Steuben News, May, 1929).

In the December 25, 1934 issue of the New York Staats-Zeitung, President Hoffman of the Steuben Society explained their signal success as follows:

"It is generally recognized that the Steuben Society, working shoulder to shoulder with other folk groups here in New York and in Chicago, was successful in its fight to eliminate text-books with an anti-German bias from the public school system. We recall the lengthy but successful struggle for the

return of Enemy Alien Property, a struggle in which the Steuben Society played the leading role. We recall the battle on the War Guilt question and the fight against the injustices of the Versailles Treaty."

The Steuben Society, on a pilgrimage to the old Fatherland, was given a sumptuous reception. On this solemn occasion, President Theodore Hoffman of the Steuben Society stated in effect:

"The Steuben Society has several

- 1. To keep alive German-American friendship,
- 2. To refuse the lie of Germany being the cause of the war,
- To modify the scandalous Treaty of Versailles,
- 4. To help the German people toward prosperity again."

(The Steuben Memorial, 1932, p. 148) It is amazing to note that the propaganda of the Steuben Society could operate so very successfully so soon, so very soon after the end of World War I. For the gentlemen conducting this propaganda campaign were the very same ones who had directed the Pan-German conspiracy in the United States before 1914, and who had subsequently been involved in the gigantic pro-German plot during the war. The fact remains, however, that these perennial hyphenates, these political conspirators, soon managed to mislead and even blackmail many a prominent member of both major parties; soon brought an overwhelming majority of the public to shed tears over the sufferings of the poor, good German people; soon softened the heart of many an American newspaper editor; and soon enlisted fervent campaigners from university faculties, from churches of every denomination, and from the ranks of prominent businessmen and bankers.

Wilson Is the "Traitor"

After the war, millions of German-Americans became the shock troops of the hate campaign against President Wilson and the League of Nations.

As early as November, 1922, at a mass meeting held in Wisconsin, Ernst Voss, an American University professor and an old-time pan-German and Steuben Society leader, was wildly cheered when he said:

"Thanks are due the American people for refusing to set their hand and seal to this despicable betrayal, this shameful lie of Versailles; of which the devil himself could be proud. The American people rejected not only the Versailles Treaty but also the author of the Fourteen Points, who, smitten by fate-as the Germans believe-because he lied and betrayed and brought disaster to an entire people, now leads a wretched existence in Washington." ("Vier Jahrzente in Amerika," p. 219).

The German language newspapers of the country outdid one another in their anti-Wilson and anti-Versailles propaganda. The New York Staats-Zeitung set the pace. Needless to say, all this met with considerable approval in the Fatherland. A German publication gave special honorable mention to the Catholic weekly, Aurora, of Buffalo, because ". . . it has been fighting the Treaty of Versailles for many long month. . . ." Furthermore, Aurora was directly quoted as follows:

". . . America must see to it that Wilson's shameful Treaty of Versailles is set aside." In conclusion, Aurora is given grateful thanks for its "... courageous intervention on behalf of Germany." (Reminiszensen aus Deutschland, p. 286).

Volumes could be filled with details of this propaganda campaign; the reader would encounter an endless reiteration of maudlin vituperation against the 'traitor'

Wilson, against the 'shameful' Treaty of Versailles, against the nation of 'pirates,' the British, etc.

Special mention must be made here the author Herbert Eulenberg. In one of his books, crammed with wild fulminations against Wilson, he describes page after page, a festive rite performed by a group of distinguished German-Americans. One by one, these citizens ceremoniously stepped up to a certain glass bowl and punctiliously expectorated therein. Why? Because, as Herbert Eulenberg reports—a picture of Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, was to be seen there, pasted to the bottom of the bowl. This book was further embellished by a grateful dedication to Victor F. Ridder, publisher of the New York Staats-Zeitung. This shameful scene, so tastefully described by the German-American author, truly illustrated the deep-rooted hatred of a large unregenerate group. When men of this stripe attacked—and still attack—a given individual, they are not only letting out their venom against one man, but are in fact expressing their ingrained hatred of America and of everything she stands for. Thus, the real target for this spitting bee was the United States.

No wonder, then, that German propaganda became more and more aggressive. By 1929 matters had gone so far that the Steuben News could venture to publish a statement to the effect that it was not the Germans who were the war criminals, but that the United States had been an accomplice in the greatest crime in history:

"Ten years after the close of the war, in which our country was finally beguiled to participate under the pretense of making the world safe for democracy, it is beginning to dawn upon our people that we became partners in the

most atrocious crime in the world's history. We are obligated to encourage and render every assistance possible to all agencies engaged in placing the war guilt where it belongs. This done, a revision or repudiation of the Treaty of Versailles must follow if there is any justice left on earth." (Steuben News, November, 1929).

On the front page of the same issue of the Steuben News we find "a call to action" addressed to the Steuben members and their friends, which reads in part as follows:

"Ten years after the war the great masses still believe that Germany was alone guilty in bringing about the World War. It is still taught in our schools, it is still in the Treaty of Ver-

sailles. Our work is that every man, woman and child must know the truth about the war guilt in every home and hamles, no matter how far remote, so that they will want to see justice done and demand a revision of the Treaty of Versailles."

Side by side with this front page "Call to Action," we see the text of a long petition from the Steuben Society to President Hoover, demanding that the War Guilt clause—"an historica falsehood, oppressive to the spirit of a friendly nation, be removed."

On their pilgrimage to Germany in 1930, the leading Steubenites could point with pride to the tremendous success they had achieved with their propaganda in the United States.

REVISIONIST PROPAGANDA

Public opinion in America had been subjected so systematically to propaganda, disseminated in countless magazine articles and books by the so-called Revisionists on American university faculties, until more and more people became convinced that Germany had in no way been responsible for World War I. The Revisionists were, of course, given the fullest cooperation of the Steuben Society's propaganda machine, as well as of the agents of the German General Staff, such as Alfred von Wegerer. As early as 1926, at a meeting in Wisconsin, a leading Steubenite, Professor Ernst Voss, was in a position to make the following statement:

make the following statement:

"Historians of every civilized nation have proved long ago that the thesis of Germany's sole responsibility for the war is nothing but a myth, a manifest untruth. No one has served the cause of truth more fearlessly and courageously than Professor Harry Elmer Barnes of Smith College in Northampton,

Mass. His latest book, in which he deals thoroughly with the War Guilt question, was published recently under the title 'The Genesis of the World War.' This book should be in the library of every German-American. Professor Barnes is at present in Germany as a guest of the General Committee of the Federation of German Associations . . . where he will speak to the German people on the results of his historical research. . . . Professor Barnes proves that Germany was not the main culprit in causing this dreadful war . . . but that the responsibility lies first and foremost with Russia, then with France, and last but not least, England." (Vier Jahrzehnte in Amerika, p. 254. ff.).

To give the reader some idea of the enormity of their machinations, some facts regarding the propaganda network of the German General Staff in the United States will be presented here. In 1919, this Alfred von Wegerer, a high ranking officer

in the German General Staff, was given the assignment to organize pro-German propaganda outside the Reich. Von Wegerer was one of those fanatical Pan-Germans who did not by any means feel that the war had come to an end in 1918, and who were permitted by the Weimar Republic to carry on their military conspiracy. Von Wegerer was one of the organizers of the Free Corps; and in 1919 directed the so-called "border patrol skirmishes" against the Poles. His aptitude for conspiratorial activities along political lines was first demonstrated in an article which appeared on May 28, 1919, in the Tag, a reactionary sheet. In this article, von Wegerer attacked the Treaty of Versailles, which had not yet been signed, as "the work of Satan"; and he further declared that "it would not take many years to wash away this grotesque monstrosity." He then goes on to say:

"We must again systematically pursue Bismarck's old policy in order to rebuild a strong German Reich.... Through noted protests, an endless flow of protests and declarations of every kind, we must insist on national unity and tirelessly disturb the conscience of the world until the mountebanks (he means, of course, the Allied statesmen —note of the editor) of the misled nations in the enemy camp are thrown out of office and the soil is prepared for a just and true people's peace. This will require a propaganda campaign on a scale that has never been dreamed of before. The best brains of the nation . . . in the realm of the cinema, the press, the arts and letters . . . must work unceasingly, day and night, toward this goal."

The name of Harry Elmer Barnes stands out as that of the men who collaborated most intimately with Alfred von Wegerer and the Steuben Society. Professor Barnes was invited to Germany by the General Committee of the Federation of German Associations, the Pan-German propaganda Center, to give lectures there and to be showered with honors. His books were distributed by the Steuben Society by the ton and the fairytale of Germany's lily-white innocence was solemnly presented to the world as the end result of scholarly, objective investigation. In a report released by Theodore Hoffman, President of the Steuben Society, it was specifically stated:

"... thanks to the Steuben Society, the works of former Senator Owen and of Professor Harry Elmer Barnes have been made available to the public at large." (Staats-Zeitung, Dec. 25, 1934).

"Steuben"—A Weapon of Pan-Germanism

In 1930, the Steuben Society began a nation-wide campaign for the cancellation of reparations and for a re-examination of certain boundary questions in Europe. The Steuben Society demanded that the territory awarded to other Powers under the Treaty of Versailles, notably the Polish Corridor and Upper Silesia—be returned to Germany forthwith. A number of American Senators and Congressmen, who had been working hand in glove with the

Steuben Society, now set up a howl for revision of the Treaty. United States Senator Royal S. Copeland, for one, said at a Steuben Society banquet in 1930, that

". . . our fate is so bound up with that of Germany that we must demand the rehabilitation of the Reich." (Steuben News, Oct. 1930).

In 1929, Senator Shipstead had already introduced a resolution demanding the annulment of Article 231 in the Treaty of

Versailles on the German war guilt. Great mass meetings were organized for the express purpose of whipping up sentiment for the revision of the Versailles Treaty. Here is a characteristic press report on one of the many demonstrations that were held in those days. The meeting in question was held in Detroit and the account appeared in the Steuben News, March

1932, as follows:

"The great gathering came together to declare its stand on the question of the Versailles Treaty. The sentiment of that packed house was in favor of repeal of the Versailles Treaty, coupled with a plea to the Government of the United States to use its great power toward achieving a revision of this document. . . . Pastor William Howe gave a graphic picture of the sufferings of Germany and frankly referred to the Treaty of Versailles as a shameless document. . . . Justice Patrick O'Brien reviewed the entire situation from the time of our entry into the war to the present day and was enthusiastic in his

stand for the revision of the Treaty." (Steuben News, March 1932).

In a leading editorial, the Steuben News (November, 1932), pointed to the Versailles Treaty as the main issue for German-Americans in the coming national

"This year we are pledged to vote for principles rather than parties or men. Our outstanding demand is the revision of the Versailles Treaty, The cause of the present economic chaos can be traced directly to this infamous treaty. . . . In the interest of continued peace we favor the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to the effect that our government shall not engage in acts of war, except it be for the purpose of repelling invasion until after an opportunity by means of referendum shall have been given the people of the United States, who are entitled by the right of franchise to express their will in the matter. We are opposed to the League of Nations and the World Court.

STEUBEN PRESIDENT VISITS HITLER

It was in 1933 that the Steuben Society, with colors flying, moved over into the camp of the Nazis. At meetings staged in New York and other cities by the Steuben Society, the German Associations, and the Nazi Bund "Friends of the New Germany," total adherence to National So-cialism, Adolf Hitler, and to what the Third Reich stood for, was openly pro-

In October 1934, Theodor Hoffman, president of the Steuben Society, travelled to Germany where he had lengthy conversations with Adolf Hitler and other Nazi leaders. Back from Germany, he handed a report to the press, the precise wording of which was published in the .It is united as it has never been before.

Deutscher Beobachter of New York on December 20th, 1934. Of this account, extended as it was over several columns and constituting in the final analysis nothing but plain propaganda for Hitler and the Third Reich, only a few sentences will be quoted here:

"One fact clearly overshadows all others and that is that the great majority of the German people have great confidence in the Fuebrer Adolf Hitler. He brought into the life of the German nation . . . new hope for the future. Whoever thinks that National Socialism rules by oppression is mistaken. The mass of the German people stand heart and soul behind Hitler.

United in its willingness to follow the Fuebrer... On January 30th, 1935, the Nazi movement proclaimed the end to the slavery imposed upon Germany by the bypocritical and insane Treaty of Ver-

sailles . . ."

"My personal impression in conversation with Hitler were that Hitler is an idealist, an outstanding organizer, and a man of tremendous energy. It is my conviction that he is honest and sincere in his endeavor not only to unite the German people but also in his determination to break the chains of slavery which kept the German people fettered hard and fast for 15 years...

"I maintain that it does not matter to us Americans in what way the population of a foreign nation wishes to be governed and of what nature its administration is. It is up to us to mind our own

business."

These few sentences prove that Hoffman desired plainly to glorify Hitler and the Third Reich. He said that there was one thing of which he was fully convinced: that Hitler would break the chains of Versailles! Hoffman's record in the subsequent six years showed that he devoted his own activities and those of the Steuben Society to this one and only task: to assist Germany, in every possible political and propagandistic way, to "break her chains," i.e., to aid her in her aggressive foreign policy.

In an announcement of the Steuben Society, published in the Deutscher Eeobachter of New York (May 16, 1935), a travel course to Germany by the Steuben Society was advertised. It was clearly stated therein that "the Steuben Society has been assured by the German authorities of their fullest support." It said, furthermore, that "they will be lodged and boarded in the best hotels, and that the program will include receptions, festivals and public proclamations." Particularly noteworthy was the remark that, for sin-

gle travelers, the cost of such a journey "would amount, normally, to five times as much."

It can easily be seen from the style of this propaganda that the intention of the German government was to serve a certain, clearly distinguishable purpose, namely, to stage a political "bargain" via the Steuben Society. The statement was made in the announcement that the "Steuben Society may be sure to obtain strong support in Germany because of the Soci-

ety's good reputation."

According to the report in the Deutscher Beobachter, Theodor Hoffman and a delegation of the Steuben Society were entertained by Adolf Hitler on August 7th, 1935. It was hinted in the German-American press, cooperating with the Steuben Society, that the reception of Hoffman by Adolf Hitler was, in a way, tantamount to an okay by Hitler on the political leadership of the Steuben Society over the German-American element. The visit to Germany of the Steuben leadership was of an exclusively political nature. Apart from those with Hitler, conversations took place in the Stuttgart Institute of Germans Abroad, and in the party headquarters at Munich.

The journey to Germany of the Steuben Society reached its peak with the achievement of an outstanding "success." The most extreme Pan-German, Dr. Hans Grimm, of the Stuttgart Institute, agreed to appear as the feature attraction of the Deutscher Tag, to take place in Madison Square Garden, New York, in October, 1935. This German Day developed into an orgy of Pan-Germanism. It was a unique homage to Hitler and the Third Reich enacted by the Steuben Society and the German Associations under its con-

trol and direction.

The German Day in Madison Square Garden was in compliance with its motto, "It Shall Be the Whole German Nation." Chief orators were Hans Luther, German

Ambassador, Dr. Hans Grimm of the Stuttgart Institute of Germans Abroad and author of the book "Nation Without Space" ("Volk-ohne Raum"), and Theodor Hoffman, president of the Steuben

Society of America.

At this German Day festival, according to the Deutscher Beobachter, Theodor Hoffman denounced what he called the "well-known German baiters." Another Steuben adherent, Dirk Voss, president of the VDG Vereinigte Deutsche Gesellschaften von New York ("Confederated German Associations of New York"), read a telegram to "Reichssuchrer Adolf Hitler." This was its wording:

"In commemoration of the landing of the first group of German immigrants in the United States, 20,000 American Germans are assembled in Madison Square Garden, New York, and they offer the Fuebrer of the German people their reverent greetings. Greetings full of pride of the homeland, which has emerged from the darkness of self-laceration into the dawn of a bright future. Greetings, bearing our thanks to you, the Fuebrer, who, relying only upon your belief in the eternal mission of the German people, has brought into the light of fulfilment the ageless dream of our ancestors. Greetings pledging faith to our nation (Germany), a faith which is and will forever be the guiding star of our needs . . . We greet you, the cause of our pride, the symbol of our love for our nation, you, the Fuehrer of New Germany!" (N. Y. Staats Zeitung, October 7, 1935.)

In the advertisements in the Deutscher Tag it was said that this demonstration should turn "into a great avowal, into an oath of allegiance to the German blood."

But with it came the threat:

"Whoever fails to appear in Madison Square Garden on October fifth stigmatizes himself as an apostate, as a traitor, letting down his kin and his homeland."

Particularly significant were those lengthy proclamations in which the German-Americans were induced to unite in a German party of its own, and to settle, finally, their account with both Republicans and Democrats. These proclamations, coming from a special political committee, bore the signature of Theodor Hoffman and the remaining Steuben chiefs.

WHAT ABOUT DIRK VOSS?

Next to Theodor Hossman, Dirk Voss, also a leader of the Steuben Society, played the most important part as organizer of the German Day. In his capacity as president of the Confederated German Associations of Greater New York, Dirk Voss issued the following declaration:

"We in the Confederated German Associations are German and to be German means to be voelkisch. This is, and will remain to be, my point of view." (Deutscher Beobachter, Sept. 19, 1935.)

In the same issue of the Deutscher Beobachter, a passage of an article reads: "It is unnecessary to stress the fact that Dirk Voss especially is a Volksgenosse whose firm stand on the platform of the Third Reich is well known, who never had made a secret of his standpoint, but has, on any given occasion, cast his lot with that conviction."

On August 29, 1935, the Deutscher Beobachter wrote:

"At the meeting of the delegates of the Confederated German Associations on Monday, Dirk Voss revealed that, for the first time on the occasion of a Deutscher Tag, an orator from the German Reich will appear, being no less than Hans Grimm, author of the book 'Nation Without Space,' circulating all over the

world. In this novel, written in 1926, Hans Grimm has already prophetically predicted the evolution of the present Third Reich. This book, Herr Voss continued, should be the Bible of all Germans Abroad.' We assume as only natural that from now on all the societies and associations will display, at their festivals or at other occasions the swastika ... To every nation, her symbol of sovereignty is sacred, and we German-Americans would be poor sons of the home-land, would not the swastika fly at any suitable time as a symbol of the victory of the Light over Darkness!" (Editorial in Deutscher Beobachter, Aug. 29th, 1935, official mouth piece of the Confederated German Associations of Greater New York, the latter being under the direction and control of the Steuben So-

'In full agreement with the board of delegates, Herr Dirk Voss issued the declaration that the Confederated German Societies (front organization of the Steuben Society) and the 'Bund' Friends of New Germany have the common goal of uniting the German-Americans on a

voelkische basis. They differ only as to the methods to be employed to that end."

Complete agreement between the Nazi-Bund and Steuben Society, together with its politically allied organizations, was reached in the Spring of 1936. During the years 1936-1938 both groups collaborated zealously. Highlights were the Deutscher Tag of 1936 and 1937 in New York.

In this connection it may be stated briefly that the German Day of 1936 featured as a speaker the president of the Institute of Germans Abroad, Stuttgart, Dr. Karl Stroelin. On this occasion, special honors were conveyed to Dr. Rudolf Cronau, founder of the Steuben Society. In both 1936 and 1937, cables of loyalty were sent to Hitler. In Germany, Dr. Stroelin's trip was considered especially important as "work for the uniting of all American-Germans." The organ of the Stuttgart Institute printed an extensive report, and the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of October 6th, 1936, declared that "the Germans of America also are marching spiritually with the German people."

STEUBEN SOCIETY AND THE NAZI FRONT

In the same way as with the Nazi-Bund, Hoffman collaborated with the National Socialist Front-Fighter-Bund, the "Stahlhelm" (Steel-Helmet). On the occasion of a Saar-Festival, Theodor Hoffman, Steuben president, appeared as one of the speakers, together with the German Vice-Consul, Dr. Dräger of New York, and Freiherr von Schrotter, the Füchrer of the Stahlhelm in the U. S. In the report on that 100% Nazi meeting it is said:

"In lengthy deductions, often interrupted by huge waves of applause, Theodor Hoffman, president of the Steuben Society of America, dwelled upon the devastating consequences of the Treaty of Versailles. Said the speaker . . . to us Americans it is clear that the issue is not Hitler—as wrongly stated all over again by the daily newspaper—but the equality of Germany amongst the Great Powers. We are proud of our German origin, and we won't keep quiet until Germany will have reestablished her proper place among nations . . . The speech had its climax in the well-coined words: Under Hitler Germany will tear Versailles to bits!" (Deutscher Beobachter, Jan. 17th, 1935.)

Hoffman, "American patriot," thus saw

the task of his life in the resurrection of Germany, the Germany under the Hitler regime, the very Germany which did not pay her debts, which rearmed to a gigantic extent with money loaned from America, and which openly confessed herself to be a mortal enemy of both capitalism and the democracies. The Nazi sympathizers within the Stahlhelm were clearly marked by the following assertions:

"The Stahlhelmers, too, have entered the struggle in their own way... It is the order of our great Fuehrer: Forward, march, at the speed of 1914! Some of us don't always like that 'Kurztreten' (marktime marching), but we are convinced, that once again the order will be given to the whole Germandom: 'Turn loose!' By then the Stahlhelm will also know no boundaries except those of the honor of the German nation; then we will battle with German faithfulness, in the spirit of Frederick the Great, of Bismarck, and of Hitler. Front Heil!" (Deutsche Zei-

tung, New York, April 14th, 1934.) The fact that the Steuben Society and the Stahlhelm were not only concerned with political propaganda for Germany, but that they, moreover, aimed at an amalgamation of the German-Americans in a separate "Volksgruppe" (nationality group), set to ask and to fight for autonomy, emerges distinctly from this declaration of the Steubenite, H. O. Spier:

"Here, in the U. S., we have 32 million Germans but no self-determination of our language . . . It is truly cultural robbery that our children are deprived of all the blessings of their mother tongue, and that, instead, the political language of the country, a foreign language, is imposed upon them . . . When a united German racial bloc in the U. S. succeeds in obtaining permission to maintain with its own taxes its own schools, then we will have obtained something great." (Deutsche Zeitung, May 26th, 1934.)

Here They Are

The founders of the Steuben Society, those old-time Kaiser propagandists of the National Alliance, had only one aim: to carry on the fight for world domination of Pan-Germanism which had been "temporarily broken off" in 1918. This is the aim for which the Steuben Society has worked from the day of its foundation; quietly, in the background, superbly camouflaged and very effectively.

The real stimulating power at the foundation of the Steuben Society was Dr. Rudolf Cronau, a foreign correspondent for German newspapers, who lived in New York. Cronau was also one of the co-founders of the Nationalbund. On Rudolf Cronau's death in 1939, the N. Y. Staats-Zeitung carried a long article eulogizing his work and achievements for the cause of German Americans. The article

has some odd sentences such as the following: "He had a deep and scientific knowledge of German American history, with which he, the German patriot, was especially concerned." The same article in the N. Y. Staats-Zeitung also reported that Rudolf Cronau had received the Pastoriusorder at the German Day of 1936. The Pastorius order is a high order of merit which the German Americans granted every year to an outstanding "German patriot" for his successful promotion of German interests in the United States.

Let us now take a look at the records of certain Steubenites:

Dr. Franz Koempel: The German press called him "Father of the Steuben Society." He was a fervent admirer of Adolf Hitler and before the outbreak of the war

spent several months in Germany every year. German newspapers report that he has been fighting in the interest of his "home-folk" for decades. Here is what the N. Y. Staats-Zeitung wrote on Decem-

ber 31, 1939:

"When World War I began in 1914, Dr. Koempel decided to defend his people with all means at his disposal. For this purpose he allied himself especially with American citizens of Irish descent who saw in this war between Germany and England a chance for the liberation of their fatherland from the English yoke . . The armistice in 1918 inspired Dr. Koempel to a new decision, the decision to found a movement which would make it its aim to coordinate all German Americans in the fight for their own cause. At the hour of greatest need he realized the idea of the Steuben Society of America as the political fighting organization of Germandom in America, so that there would never again occur a second 1917."

Frederic Franklin Schrader: He was one of the chief agitators in the German Nationalbund during World War I. Together with George Sylvester Viereck, Schrader worked for the German propaganda organization which at that time was headed by the special imperial Ambassador, Dr. Dernburg. Frederic Shrader was investigated by the Justice Department in Washington during the war because of his relations with these people. The important role played by Frederic Schrader in the German propaganda service in America to date has been acknowledged openly and gratefully by the official organ of the German Auslandsinstitut in Stutt-

"Let us acknowledge here one of the foremost fighters for Germany, Dr. H. C. Frederick Franklin Schrader, who has devoted his writings to the service of the German cause since 1914 . . . Ever since 1934 Schrader has been a permanent contributor to the press of the German-Amer-

ican Volksbund. He writes English reports in the 'Deutscher Weckruf and

On September 4th, 1938, the N. Y. Staats-Zeitung reported that Frederic Schrader, "the co-founder and early fighter for the Steuben Society," had been awarded the Pastoriusorder for the year 1938 by German American organizations. The same report continues:

"Only a short time ago Schrader received the silver Auslandsplakette from the German Auslandsinstitute in Stuttgart. Schrader distinguished himself by his aggressive stand in the matter of Ger-

man interests."

"Die Weltwacht der Deutschen," the official organ of the Pan-Germans, dedicated a long article to Frederic Franklin Schrader in its issue of November, 1938, in which it specifically acknowledged that he "always stood up for the honor and the prestige of the old homeland." The article concluded:

"If, amongst the living, anyone has the right to say that he, as a German American has hoped, suffered, and fought for the rise of the German homeland, Frede-Beobachter."

ric Franklin Schrader is that man."

The close relation between the Steuben Society and the Nazi Bund is shown by the fact that Frederic Schrader, like many other leading Steubenites, belonged to

both these organizations.

Among the other founders of the Steuben Society were Professors Edmund von Mach, Dr. Adolf Busse, and Dr. C. Kayser. Professor von Mach was one of the most active propagandists for the interests of the German government during World War I. He was closely associated with the director of German propaganda, Dr. Dernburg, and wrote essays and anti-British brochures for him. In mass meetings of the German Nationalbund, von Mach made outspoken Pan-German speeches. The roles played by Dr. Kayser and Dr. Busse were similar to that of

Professor Mach. Dr. Adolf Busse of Hunter College takes active part in the work of the Steuben Society even today. Besides the actual founders themselves some of the early fighters for the Steuben Society should not be forgotten:

HERR GEORGE SYLVESTER VIERECK ...

They are: George Sylvester Viereck, who was sent to jail in 1941 for sup-pressing important facts in his relations with authorities in the Reich, had a clear record as a German agent during World War I. Then, just as during the years 1938-40, Viereck was one of the chief organizers of the isolationist front in the United States. In his magazine, "The Fatherland," he supplied the ammunition, i.e., the arguments and directions given to him by the German government, for the fight against Woodrow Wilson. A comparison of the old volumes of "The Fatherland" with the contents of the "Steuben News" of the years 1938-41, indicates quite clearly that the fight of the Steuben Society against the Roosevelt Administration was merely a new edition of the old methods of Messrs. Viereck and Frederic F. Schrader in 1914-1917.

It is characteristic of the spirit of the Steuben Society that the German agent Viereck could become a member of this ostensibly patriotic American organization soon after its foundation. Viereck's financial relations with German governmental authorities were exposed by the "New York World" in the summer of 1915. A Senate Committee later investigated Viereck's correspondence with German government officials which came from the files of Geheimrat Dr. Albert. If the Steuben Society thought it worth while to accept as a member a man who was known throughout the country as a German agent it must have considered his membership extremely valuable. Certainly it showed no apprehension lest Viereck's bad reputation affect the Society. Note that the Society entered into relations with him despite his reputation.

The Steuben Society needed the Viereck contact in order to gain political influence in the United States. Viereck and the Steuben Society together were the power behind the attempt to create a third party, the so-called LaFollette Party in the Middle West during the twenties. Here again we meet Viereck and F. Schrader as the publishers of the organ of this party, "The Progressive." There is no doubt that George Sylvester Viereck was one of the intellectual leaders of the Steuben Society until the end of 1941. He could use his contacts to establish relations between certain pro-German Senators and Representatives and the Steuben Society. The whole extent of the conspirative activities of Viereck and the Steuben Society will probably be discovered only by an investigation of the Steuben archives.

Pastor Sigismund von Bosse of Philadelphia is the son of Pastor Georg von Bosse who was elected president of the German Nationalbund after Dr. Hexamer's resignation during World War I. Pastor Sigismund von Bosse, Steuben member and Nazi, has a very clear record as a Pan-German and propagandist for Germany. His work was also acknowledged by the Auslandsinstitut in Stuttgart. The headquarters of Pan-Germanism quoted the following except from a speech made by him at the German Day in New York in 1937:

"The year 1937 will not find us powerless as during the year 1914. We Americans of German descent want to have a part in shaping the future policy of the U. S. proportionate to our numerical strength, May the day not be distant at

which one of our race will preside at the conference table in Washington." (Der Auslandsdeutsche, Stuttgart, 1938.) -

Professor Ernst Voss: Among the many fanatical propagandists of the Steuben Society, in the twenties, was Ernst Voss, Professor at the University of Wisconsin. He was one of the front line fighters who declared at large meetings and in essays and articles, that all citizens of German descent should unite and that it would then be easy for them to make the Midde West a pure German State. In one of his speeches, Professor Voss said to the German Americans: "You have not the faintest idea of how world history should be made." In another speech, made by Professor Voss on August 29, 1926, in Milwaukee under the auspices of the Steuben Society, he said:

"We insist on our right to organize even in the U. S." (Ernst Voss: "Vier life after our own, the German way—Jahrzehnte in Amerika," Stuttgart, 1929, p. 249.)

In his book, "Vier Jahrzehnte in Amerika," 1929, Ernst Voss wrote on page 132:

"German-Americans do not occupy the positions in this country to which they are entitled by virtue of their numerical strength and their influence; they do not play the role to which they are rightfully entitled . . .

"We will feel aliens here until we have altered this beautiful country, this country of our choice, our love and our desire, after our own taste, which is not a bad

"But this will happen only if we learn at last to be a united nation of brothers, and to proceed together, and to demand our rights . . . Unless we do this, we shall continue to be fed the crumbs which fall from the tables of pure-blooded Americans . . . until we prove to them that it is within our power to occupy all the places at this bounteous table and let them be the onlookers, for a change."

THE INNER CIRCLE

Gustav W. M. Wiebold is one of the leading men in the inner circle of the Steuben Society. He never bothered to hide his admiration for Hitler and Nazi Germany. On the Steuben meeting in 1935, organized by the Steuben units in Franklin Square, L. I., there appeared a strong delegation of the "Bund Ameri-kanischer Nationalsozialisten" whose leader declared:

"We stand under the sign of the Swastika. We want to work with the Steuben Society as well as with all other American organizations for the good of America." (Deutscher Beobachter of New York, Aug. 29th, 1935.)

Judge Wiebold, then Chairman of the N. Y. State Council and present at the meeting did not protest against this collaboration "under the sign of the Swastika." On the contrary, then, as well as later, he did everything he could to facilitate the cooperation of the Steuben Society with the Nazis.

Willi Warnecke, leading Steuben member and president of the "United German organizations of New York," appeared at a meeting in May 1940 in which strong protest was voiced against the suspicion of German Americans. However, irony of fate decided that at the very same meeting Prof. Friedrich Auhagen, since convicted agent of the German Reich, made a speech on "The Future Role of German Americanism." (N. Y. Staats-Zeitung, May 29th, 1940.)

Dr. Francis Just, Steuben member and

president of the German American or-

ganization of Newark, publicly proclaimed: "Hitler is Germany, Whoever insults Germany, insults Hitler, and whoever insults Hitler, insults us." (Deutscher Weckruf, October 14, 1937.)

H. O. Spier: Another Steubenite, H. O. Spier, secretary of the German-American conference in New York, appeals to the German Americans to "take a courageous stand against America's foreign policy." Just how closely Spier, the Nazi agent, worked with the German Consulate in New York can be deduced by comparing the following utterances. This is what Dr. Borchers, Consul General, said at a Nazi celebration in 1934:

"Whether our voice is lost in the wind, or becomes a storm which cannot be disregarded, depends essentially upon the degree of our units.

degree of our unity.
"Unity creates strength; therefore let
us walk as one man behind our German
brothers:

The banner high, the ranks drawn up compacily,

One man, one Volk, with visor opened wide,

On this day let a new league be established For Germany's defense by Germany's sons here."

(Deutsche Zeitung, New York, May 5, 1934.)

A short time after the speech of Consul Dr. Borchers, the Steubenite and Nazi agitator, H. O. Spier, spoke at the celebration of the New York Vereine. He repeated the Consul General's remarks almost word for word, only this time as the "oath of German Americans for the old homeland":

"Whether our voice is lost in the wind, or becomes a storm which cannot be disregarded, depends upon the degree of our unity. Unity creates strength, and therefore we should walk behind our German brothers with the vow:

The banner high, the ranks drawn up compactly,

One man, one Volk, with visor opened wide,

On this day let a new league be established For Germany's defense by Germany's sons here."

(Deutsche Zeitung, New York, June 16, 1934.)

Dr. Gottfried Syfarth: Another enthusiastic Steubenite is Dr. Gottfried Syfarth. The president of the great German "Saengerverband" on the Atlantic coast, he maintained very close contact with the Foreign Institute in Stuttgart and the center of the Choral Societies in Berlin from which a steady stream of Nazi propaganda continuously flooded the United States. (Der Auslandsdeutsche, Stuttgart, March 1937 and Deutscher Beobachter, New York, June 7, 1935.)

New York, June 7, 1935.)

Karl Nicolay: The Steuben Society member, Karl Nicolay, deserves a mention. He was arrested during World War I on the charge of spy activities. Mr. Nicolay was also a member of the Nazi Bund and carried on negotiations in the Brown House in Munich in 1936, which lasted for weeks and finally led to a resolution "to form a block which in the future will assume the final leadership of America." In a report which appeared in the Deutscher Weckruf on July 23, 1936, Karl Nicolay spoke of the great task "to make America eternally secure for the Aryan race in accordance with Adolf Hitler's idea." Nicolay then went on to report the results of his conferences in the Brown House:

"We must strengthen our sacred homeland, the Third Reich, by constructing a mighty phalanx of German blood in the American body politic. It must be made impossible for all time to ever again involve America in a war against Germany."

Dr. Ignatz T. Griebl must not be omitted from this list. He was one of the leading Steuben Society members and was at the same time one of the most active organizers of the "Friends of the New

Germany." He was also regional director of this organization for some time, Dr. Griebl's intensive work "for the good of America" ended rather dishonorably with his exposure in 1938 as the head of a far-reaching German espionage organization. He escaped his arrest and conviction by fleeing to Germany. Dr. Griebl was a reserve officer in the U. S. Army.

Ferdinand Hansen: One of the Steuben Society's most important contact men with Germany for a long time was the naturalized German American, Ferdinand Hansen. Prior to World War I, he made a considerable fortune in the United States. He expressed his gratitude to his

foster country by fanatical hatred and almost incredible intrigues. In 1915 the U. S. Government found itself compelled to withdraw his passport and refuse him admission to the country. Hansen's pamphlets of hatred and incitement against the United States were distributed in thousands of copies by German agents during the years 1914-1917. At the end of the war Hansen returned here and resumed his pro-German work with full force in the Steuben Society of America. He openly boasted that he had been successful in influencing leading Senators and Congressmen in Washington to a pro-German line.

THE NAZI FELLOW TRAVELERS

The admonition reappearing in all the speeches of the Steuben chiefs spoke only of the sacred mission of the German-Americans to help Germany and to fight with everything they had for the furtherance of German interests. Considering the records of the founders of the Steuben Society, such as Dr. Rudolf Cronau, George Sylvester Viereck, Dirk Voss, Frederick Schrader, Dr. Franz Koempel, and Karl Nicolay, it becomes clear what the following appeal of a Steuben chief amounts to:

"Herr Robert E. Leyendecker from the National Council of the Steuben Society addressed those present on the aims and purposes of the Steuben Society. Among other things, he pointed out that the generation of German-Americans, growing up in our day, should follow in the footsteps of the old warriors for Germany's honor and reputation over here in America." (From an official account of the Concord Unit No. 14, Steuben Society, Deutscher Beobachter, Feb. 14th, 1935.)

Another influential Steuben member, Dr. Louis A. Ewald, president of the Federation of Bavarian Associations, advised the organizations headed by him, as follows:

"All associations, no matter whether based on cultural, economic, or charitative principles, should concern themselves with politics nowadays. It is no longer tolerable that the associations call themselves non-political. The events of recent days cause any man of German stock . . . to be pro-German in this country, and to fight for the political union of the German-American elements." (Deutscher Beobachter, Sept. 12, 1935.)

At still another gathering of the Bavarian Association, in the course of which Dr. Ewald turned against the "repeated sword-rattling of President Roosevelt, the worthy pupil of Wilson," he declared, according to the N. Y. Staats-Zeitung of August 29, 1938:

August 29, 1938:
"The right of the German-Americans to stand for their old homeland was based by Dr. Ewald on the fact . . . that the reputation of the Germans abroad is in full dependency upon the international attention paid to the old homeland."

Dr. Louis Ewald: One of the most

fanatical Nazi propagandists in New York is the Steuben member Dr. Louis A. Ewald, known as the leader of all Bavaria Organizations. In his speeches, he proclaimed the notorious Nazi slogan: "One Nation, one Reich, one Fuehrer!" Whereupon the good Americans of German descent joined enthusiastically in the German national anthem and the Horst Wessel song, according to the New York Staats-Zeitung of August 15, 1938.

Dr. Ewald, Steuben chief, saw the many millions of German-Americans, those Americans born as well as those naturalized, not as Americans, but as "Germans abroad" who, according to the Nazi theory and to the words of Dr. Ewald, "have to stand for the old homeland."

It was only natural that the German Reich thankfully acknowledged Dr. Ewald's Pan-German propaganda among the German-Americans:

"Vice-Consul Dr. Friedhelm Draeger, in his address, praised Dr. Ewald as protagonist of the German idea in America, and found special words, in appreciation of his standing for the New Germany. The 400 participants rose and sang both German national anthems. We American-Germans... have to thank the New Germany and her great Fuehrer for having readmitted us into the great family of all Germans." (Deutscher Wecktuf, April 23rd, 1936.)

In the words quoted above, the American citizen, Louis A. Ewald, perhaps, in wishful thinking, had already anticipated "Anchluss" with the Third Reich. This case is only one typical specimen of the true conceptions of organized German-Americans; their many thousand associations were and are under the leadership and political influx of the Steuben Society.

THE "GERMANY FIRSTERS"

According to its general policy, to comply, always and everywhere, with German interests, the Steuben Society has done its utmost to weaken the national policy of the United States, and to sabotage measures aimed at rearmament. This is taken from a proclamation issued by the Steuben Society in January, 1940:

"We warn all Congressmen and Senators not to let themselves be induced to appropriate more sums, allegedly destined for the defense of the country itself, in fact, however, aimed at the protection of the Asiatic colonies of the warring European Allies!" (N. Y. Staats-Zeitung, Ian 17th, 1940.)

Jan. 17th, 1940.)
In an "Open Letter To Congress,"
Theodor Hoffman said on behalf of the
Steuben Society:

"Instead of letting itself be carried away by sentimental appeals to fear and

feelings and, thereby, to the passing of billion-bills for defense, the Congress should tackle the problem with cool consideration. The average American can easily be scared by the cloudy word 'defense.' But, who is the enemy against whose aggression we gear for defense? . . . If, as is to be expected, the wish for further strengthening of our navy will be uttered loudly, will that, then, be for the sake of defending British supremacy in India?" (N. Y. Staats-Zeitung, Jan. 23rd, 1940.)

With the strongest opposition, in accordance with these views, the Steuben Society responded to all measures taken by the administration to put the country in a state of defense.

It may be noted briefly that an underhanded smear-campaign was conducted by the Steuben Society against the Roosevelt

administration. Every now and then the President was called "Dictator Sulla," or "puppet of the British Crown"; occasionally he was called a secret ally of Moscow. In an official declaration of the

Steuben Society it was stated:

"Never before did a Chief Executive of this country meddle as much in foreign affairs as the present one because he didn't happen to like the form of government which another sovereign power had decided was best for its wel-

"Never before did a Chief Executive demand and obtain absolute dictatorial powers as did the present one; and with the same blow Congress voted itself out

of existence....
"It is doubtful if ninety out of a hundred would approve the hateful war madness which our foreign and financially influenced administration in Washington is now pursuing. American democracy has been brow-beaten into humiliating submission. Our British masters have laid down the law. As British slaves, we now have nothing else to do but obey." (Philadelphia Herald, March 22nd, 1941.)

There can be no doubt that the Steuben Society is everything but what its president, Hoffman, has pretended it was. From the witness stand, Hoffman denied that he was in any way connected with Nazi Germany and the Bund, and he went even as far as to assert that his society was a patriotic organization and inspired with the highest American ideals.

In fact, the Steuben Society sought to stage a tricky kind of conspiracy, with its president Hoffman enacting the same treacherous role as played by Konrad Henlein, the ill-famed Fuhrer of the Sudeten-Germans, at the time of the annexation of Czechoslovakia.

The Steuben Society, exactly like the Nazi-Bund, was an auxiliary force of the Third Reich in the United States, fighting, admittedly, "for the same ideals as

the Bund!" As stated by Dirk Voss himself, the only difference was in the "methods." The Bund appeared openly as a Nazi organization, whereas the Steuben Society pursued its treacherous activities behind a smoke-screen of patriotic phrases and wrapped in the Stars and Stripes. If there ever was a Trojan Horse in American history, it is the Steuben Society of

"We want to make our children proud to be of German stock." Baldur von Schirach? Rosenberg? The Nazi Ministry of Propaganda in the days before the War? No. This candid, defiant statement comes from pamphlets published in the United States of America in 1937—the year of the promulgation of the Nazi Nuremberg laws-and entitled "What is the Steuben Society of America?"

On several occasions we have tried to answer this ingenious question. We produced evidence tracing the origin of this group. We exposed the men who formed its brain trust. We warned, over and over again, of the menace implicit in the existence of the Steuben Society, and now—as Hitlerism has officially been condemned at the Courts of Nuremberg, we deem it imperative to review some facts and figures of this organization and to submit it again to the chemical tests of Americanism.

To begin with, it is established that the Steuben Society is a Pan-German, and at times was, an openly pro-Nazi group, but it always pretended to be American as well. However, lest its followers think its espousal of America unbecoming, the Steuben Society explained apologetically that "We speak the American language because ... (our) work must be carried on in the language of our country."

Then, having faced this delicate matter of language, the pamphlet goes on to clarify other issues. "We bave work ahead of us; hard work and for a good cause. The questions of establishing war guilt . . . opposing the world court . . . the League of Nations."

Among leaders who play a dominant role in German-American associations, Dr. Ewald may be cited as a typical model. Here is an excerpt from a lengthy account on his activities published in the Deutscher Weckruf of April 9, 1936:

"In 1898, Dr. Ewald came to New York, in order to settle here as a surgeon. . . . When, in the summer of 1914, the clouds of war started to darken the political horizon, nothing could keep him in the land of his choice. After two futile altempts, he succeeded, in December, 1914, in reaching German soil. . . . In all the great battle of the World War, albeit in Russia or France, he was to be found in the most advanced lines. . . . In 1921 he set out to cross the ocean once again for New York, where he had lost all his belongings, to resume his practice as a physician. In New York he was unceasingly devoted to the fight for German honor and German reputation. . . . Not even the war psychosis, still in existence at the time of his return to America, could stop him from working from the very day of his arrival, for the enlistment and unification of German ele-ments in America, and for their understanding and helpful attitude towards the homeland."

Dr. Ewald is a classical representative of the mentality to be found among the German-Americans. This man immigrated in 1898, rose to success and dignity, but remained, after 40 years' residence in America, the same fanatical Pan-German he was when he entered this country. He remained what he always was a—"German in America!"

Among thousands of articles, addresses and appeals coming from German-American organizations, there was not a single case in which anything was advocated in the national interest of America. In every instance the argumentation read: "in the interest of the old homeland," or "for German honor," or "for a future German-America." As an example, there is the case in which the New York Staats-Zeitung invited visitors to take part in the Deutscher Tag, 1938. Hamilton Fish was to deliver the feature speech, and the German-Americans were summoned to come in masses, on account of the "great historical importance" of the meeting. Towards the end, the "invitation" threatened:

"To be a German-American and to fail to have his share in the preservation of peace next Sunday in Madison Square Garden... means to be guilty of criminal complacency against one's old homeland!" (N. Y. Staats-Zeitung, Sept. 27, 1938.)

It is of some interest, in this connection to see in what way the speeches of Congressman Hamilton Fish were appreciated as helpful to the "fatherland." Whatever the German-American organization may be concerned with, it was always the same: they have to be helpful to the "old homeland," according to their being useful or detrimental to the "motherland." There is a passage taken from an appeal of the German-American Conference, a front-organization of the Steuben Society:

"Let us demonstrate before our brothers and sisters in the homeland, that, in these crucial weeks, the German-Americans are doing their duty." (N. Y. Staats-Zeitung, May 16, 1940).

"The Bund of Sudeten-Germans in America wants, solely and exclusively, to be in the service of the homeland." (N. Y. Staats-Zeitung, Sept. 27th 1938, from an official announcement of the Bund der Sudetendeutschen in U. S.)

Whatever was undertaken by the Steuben Society was done in the interest of the Reich, and in every case the fate of German-Americans was considered identical with the fate of the Reich! A

particularly most nonsensical argument was taken by the Steuben Society, direct

from Dr. Goebbels' propaganda mill:
"In a petition handed in by its national president, Theodor Hoffman, the Steuben Society, representing the German idea over here in the U.S., turns vigorously against President Roosevelt's foreign policy... President Hoffman has left for the capital to discuss with Congressmen problems such as the Ludlow amendment, foreign policy, the Neutrality Act, and to convey to the foreign committee of the Senate, in the course of its present vital hearings, the views of the Steuben Society. Among other things, the petition says: 'We do not think it advisable to give the power to the President of deciding, in a given case, which of the warring nations should be marked as aggressor. . . . With every determination, the Steuben Society opposes the view that any democratic principles are involved in the present crisis. It is a case of power politics, nothing else, and the principles of democracy have nothing to do with it. ... The President must be deprived of the power to impose economic sanctions.

The 'have' countries must yield a portion of their property to the 'havenots,' sufficient to enable the latter to guarantee their populations a decent living. Empty phrases about the blessings of democracy do not prove anything." (N. Y.

Staats-Zeitung, April 16th, 1939.)
Let us not forget that the Steuben Society was organized in 1919 by a group of German agents. Among its organizers were Ferdinand Hansen, the German agent prosecuted for high treason by American authorities; Carl Nicolai, who was arrested as an enemy agent, and Frederic F. Schrader, a key organizer of

the German-American Bund.

When the German-American Bund was organized, the Steuben Society shaped its program of activities in order to advance Hitler's cause. As far back as

1936 and 1937 the so-called German Day celebrations in the U.S. were jointly run by the Steuben Society and the German-American Bund.

At a German-Day celebration in Madison Square Garden, New York City, in 1935, where Steuben President Theodor Hoffman and other Steubenites spoke, a telegram to Adolf Hitler was approved in which allegiance was pledged to the

It is in recent years that the Steuben Society really gave the show away. Important evidence against it appeared in 1944 when the U.S. had been at war with Germany for nearly three years and when the liberation of Europe had already begun at a high price to America—a price of blood and money and the energy of the entire nation. The Steuben Society, which puts out a paper called "The Steuben News," ran a three-column article in August, 1944, headlined "Internal strife in Germany." The article dealt with American propaganda on Germany, and included the following telling sentence: "The official, semi-official and journalistic blood baths about the future of Germany are apt to backfire to prolong the war instead of shortening it."

The "Steuben News" went on to ask, in a rather irritated tone, whether it was actually necessary to discuss the German problem openly and frequently, and whether all this "propaganda" did not, in reality, condition the American people to demand peace terms so harsh that

"the mind cannot grasp them."

This was in the summer of 1944 and we were far from peace. But the "Steuben News" had already begun to talk raucously about a tough peace and its perils. Two months later, the same sheet, undaunted by the news events of the previous weeks, published a speech delivered by Steubenite Fred Zimmerman at the silver anniversary celebration of

the foundation of the Steuben Society. Mr. Zimmerman, who apparently remembered in the nick of time that the bloody battle was still being waged in Europe, took this occasion to state publicly that: "The defeat of Germany seems certain ... and there is a flood of radio and newspaper debate as to the sort of peace to be imposed on the German nation."

Then, he turned to his audience and asked with what must have been a pathetic throb in his voice: "Shall there be a strong military occupation of Germany by the armies of the United Nations? Shall Germany be prohibited from having an army and navy, or an air force?"

The same campaign against German disarmament was carried throughout the October 1944 issue of the Steuben News. One article, presciently entitled: "Preview of the New Post-War Europe," mentions the "pompous talk of taking weapons of war away from Germans and similar pious sayings," and goes on with rare impudence to remark that "our policy makers in Washington and the astute financiers and merchants in London are already busy with their blueprints of how to deindustrialize Germany and at the same time enlarge the riches of the respective nations."

A month before Germany was forced to her knees in April, 1945, a Mr. J. H. Meyer predicted in the Steuben News that "there will be no armistice because there will be no one in authority in Germany to sign an armistice with General Bisenhower." Despite this grave blunder, Mr. Meyer was again active in July. By then, the Steuben News had found another topical target.

The San Francisco Conference which provided Mr. Meyer with a chance to write fine, purple prose about the first steps of the United Nations. The Conference Charter was dubbed by the Steubenites: "a document which has been shorn of the last shreds of morality." In

case any of its readers were still uncertain as to the main purpose of this publication, the same issue of the Steuben News obligingly carried an article restating the requirements for membership into the Society. They had a familiar ring: "New members must be wholly or in part of German extraction and they must manifest that pride of race that deterred them from becoming shifters and trimmers."

Now that the war was over, and the Steuben Society had accepted victory with surprising equanimity, it "reconverted" for peace. In August, 1945, a banner headline in the Steuben News told the world about the "Mass Rape of German Girls." The often and officially denied report of the alleged criminal assault of German girls by French Senegalese or Negro soldiers was played for all it was worth. The Steuben News had itself a field dav with lurid and vivid descriptions of "thousands of German girls rounded-up in the subway of Stutteart" and there raped by black soldiers of the Allied armies. It was a good story and well worth telling at that stage of Germany's defeat. Even if some of the Steuben News readers were "good" German-Americans, who had never really believed in Hitler, and who had done their best to bring victory to the Allies, their sympathies could hardly help but be moved by this brutal, shameful subway episode, The only point which was consciously overlooked by the Steuben News writers was that Stuttgart did not have a subway!

The world was in a state of armistice for only a few weeks, when the Steuben Society led the drive for a hasty reopening of mail to Germany. Then its President, Theodor Hoffman, initiated the drive for "American Relief for Germany" and all the U. S. authorities were adjured to permit sending food and clothing to the wretched Fatherland. In the meantime, the Steuben Society did what it

could to make an exaggerated picture of

alleged starvation in Germany.

There were some German-Americans who were thoroughly impressed by the now fully-revealed facts of what Germanity had done to Europe and were disinclined to brag about their origin. This called for the most subtle tactics of the Steuben Society. Sure enough, in the Thanksgiving issue of the Steuben News, we learned that "Americans of German birth or blood ... more than any other race . . . helped to make our country strong and great." A little later, in the same editorial, we read: "Americans of German descent ... have been instrumental in making the U. S. the most advanced, modern nation." So, consolation for the horrors perpetrated by their brethren across the sea was considerately offered the Steubenites by their official mouthpiece.

February, 1946, saw the beginning of still another Steuben Society campaign. In its inimitably clever fashion, the Steuben News demanded relief for Germany and charged the Allies with lack of "noblesse oblige" towards the defeated foe. Flying in the face of reason and patriotism alike, the Steuben News screamed: "In view of all the distortions, falsifications and lies; in view of all the dirt throwing ... we, of German extraction ... and proud of it ... must and do feel badly about the general slandering of all Germans . . ." Those who advocated the federation and disarming of the Reich were promptly labelled "rapacious capitalists . . . vengeful little men who will jeopardize the peace of America . . .'

November 1946 is election month and the Steuben News was vigilant, as befitted a political pressure group: "We are unwilling to accept any further apologies on the part of the administration spokesmen who are afraid to underwrite a humanitarian undertaking because they think they may lose some votes . . . We

shall not forget them . . . "

In March, 1946, the Steuben News came out with a fresh, spring-like note. It reprinted "Fourteen Points about the Society." These points are worth rereading today, for they are implicit statements of the Steuben's pernicious raison d'etre. Point Five, for instance again, deals with the question of language: "The Steuben Society uses the American language because it is the political language of the country." Point Six explains that the Society "hopes to bring together all American citizens of Germanic race for the purpose of safeguarding and pro-moting their political rights." While Point 11 goes into racism thoroughly, though briefly: "Persons who are known to possess no race pride are not eligible ...for membership.

In July 1946 the Steuben News categorically demanded, in a screaming head-line, "No Second Westphalian Peace" and urged that Byrnes' peace proposals be rejected, for the sake of "a United and Unified Germany at any price."

Finally, in September 1946, the Steuben News, still fighting hard for the preservation of a strong, militarist Germany whatever the price, got deeply upset about the American attempts to implant democracy on German soil. The leading article of this issue "revealed" that our "indoctrination courses in de-mocracy" are "full of stupid selfrighteousness."

These few excerpts, culled from the Steuben Society's official paper, are surely enough to persuade even the most unsuspicious American official that there is something wrong with the basic orientation of the Steuben Society and that it ought to be set right on a few principles

of democracy.

But, for some strange reason, neither war nor peace have ever affected the Steuben Society which is permittd to go its merry way, wholly unhampered. In

September 1946, with astonishing temerity, the Steuben Society wrote the War and Navy Departments and asked that some Department notables be sent to speak at the 27th anniversary of the founding of the Steuben Society.

Despite protests from the Society for the Prevention of World War III, and the fact that the War and Navy Department had been repeatedly advised of the strong pro-Nazi leanings of the Steubenites and their President, both Departments, amazingly, designated representatives to appear at the Steuben banquet on September 28, 1946 in New York.

In a letter dated September 3rd, 1946, Major General F. L. Parks, Chief of Public Relations Division of the War Department, informed the Society for the Prevention of World War III that "the appearance of any army officer to pay tribute to a distinguished American military (Gen. von Steuben) of course, does not imply support or approval of the attitude or activities of the sponsors of the meetings."

At the banquet of the Steuben Society at the Biltmore Hotel in New York City the War Department was represented by Brig. Gen. Elliott Duncan Cooke of the Inspector General's Office of the U. S. Army, while the Navy Department sent Rear Admiral Monroe Kelly, Commandant of the Third Naval District of the U. S. Navy.

General Cooke restricted himself in a very non-commital speech to eulogize Gen. von Steuben, who was the first quartermaster of the American army, and he wished the Steuben Society good fortune. Admiral Kelly, however, put his manuscript immediately aside, telling the audience that he would speak to them as man to man. He took the opportunity to denounce Russia but made the remark that his utterances were his own and that he did not know what the official attitude of the Navy Department would

be

The main speech of the event was delivered by the president of the Steuben Society, Theodor Hoffmann. He started out by reading a great part of George Washington's Farewell Address with specific emphasis upon Washington's advice to this country to remain aloof from all foreign entanglements. He said that Washington's words were as true today as they were a century and a half ago. Mr. Hoffmann's implication was that the U. S. had no business at all to go to war against Germany, which was the same position he held after the first world war. Hoffmann's speech was interrupted by tremendous applause, as everybody understood the implication. Furthermore, he drummed it into the audience that the Steuben Society is responsible for the formation of the American Relief for Germany and that his and his friends' efforts have made it possible for the Quakers to do their relief job in Germany. He wound up by saying that the greatest weapon of all for the Steuben Society is the one which all Steubenites will soon be able to use again, namely, the ballot box.

It should be remembered that this very same Theodor Hoffmann, in 1934, travelled to Germany, where he had lengthy conversations with Adolf Hitler and other Nazi leaders. Back from Germany he handed a report to the press, the precise wording of which was published in the Nazi Bund sheet, Deutscher Beobachter of New York City on October 20, 1934:

"... Whoever thinks National Socialism rules by oppression is mistaken... On January 30, 1933, the Nazi movement proclaimed the end to the slavery imposed upon Germany by the hypocritical and insane Treaty of Versailles... My personal impression, in conversation with Hitler were that Hitler is an idealist, an outstanding organizer, and a man of tre-

mendous energy. It is my conviction that he is honest and sincere in his endeavor not only to unite the German people but also in his determination to break the chains of slavery which kept the German people fettered hard and fast for 15 years..."

At the above-mentioned German Day celebration in 1935 President Theodor Hoffman endorsed a telegram to "Reichsfuehrer" Adolf Hitler, part of which reads as follows: "... Greetings full of pride of the homeland, which has emerged from the darkness of self-laceration into the dawn of a bright future. Greetings, bearing our thanks to you, the Fuehrer, who, relying only upon your belief in the eternal mission of the German people, has brought into the light of fulfilment the ageless dream of our ancestors. Greetings pledging faith to our nation (Germany), a faith which is and will forever be the guiding star of our

needs... We greet you, the cause of our pride, the symbol of our love for our nation, you the Fuehrer of New Germany."
(N. Y. Staats-Zeitung, Oct. 7, 1935.)

In conclusion, it should be noted that at the Convention of the Steuben Society in Cleveland in August 1946, the main speaker was Prof. Austin J. App, of San Antonio, Texas, whom the Society for the Prevention of World War III had exposed as a typical American Naziphile, whose subversive anti-American literature is actually being spread throughout the country. This very same literature, namely the pamphlets "Ravaging the Women of Conquered Europe," "Slave Laboring German Prisoners of War" and a book, "History's Most Terrifying Peace," were advertised in the official program of the banquet of the Steuben Society, which was honored by the presence of the delegates of the War and Navy Departments.

POSTSCRIPTUM

On December 13, 1946 the German-language newspaper California Staatszeitung published a letter to the editor entitled "Americans of German Descent, Wake Up," suggesting that the German Americans should unite in the Steuben Society in order to form a voting bloc in the next elections.

The letter said in part:

"It is high time for us American citizens of German descent to merge into a great powerful political group. . . . Then we shall be able to clean up many a bad situation in this country and its foreign policy. We have the potential power to do so for we have millions of citizens eligible to vote, and we have the potential economic power, for the German element plays an important role in all trades and, therefore, in the whole American economy. . . . In the next elections we must be ready! Wake Up!"

SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF WORLD WAR III

A Non-Profit Organization

515 MADISON AVENUE - at 53rd Street - NEW YORK 22, N. Y. Telephone: Plaza 3-4985 - 4986

10 REASONS WHY YOU SHOULD ENROLL NOW

- 1. YOU WILL ADD YOUR VOICE to millions of others who are determined that never again shall Germany and Japan be permitted to disturb the peace of the world . . .
- 2. YOU WILL PERFORM YOUR DUTY to those who gave their lives in the war against German and Japanese militarism . . .
- 3. YOU WILL FULFILL YOUR DUTY TO YOUR CHILDREN and your children's children . . . for peace without peril . . .
- 4. YOU WILL MAKE SURE THAT THE WORLD will not fall victim again to the same aggressors . . .
- 5. YOU WILL SERVE NOTICE on Pan-Germans and pro-Germans alike that their subtle propaganda will not fool you . . .
- 6. YOU WILL FORTIFY AMERICA in the demand that the needs and welfare of Germany's victims must receive unquestioned priority...
- 7. YOU WILL HELP CHECK the increasingly arrogant Germanlanguage press in the United States . . .
- 8. YOU WILL HELP COUNTERACT the propaganda of pro-Germans and their sympathizers who seek to regenerate a strong Germany...
- YOU WILL BE LEAVING THE SIDELINES to become an active participant in the battle for peace and security...
- 10. YOU MUST HELP win the peace this time to ensure your own life . . .

If we are to win the peace, pro-German influences and propaganda must be fought . . . NOW!

- 9 -

The intolerable conditions which have preyed upon the populations of the Middle East should be completely eliminated. The United Nations' efforts must be based on this premise if a just and lasting solution is to be found.

The United Nations cannot afford reversion to the conditions which have obtained up to the present and have blocked the establishment of peace.

If the United Nations fails on this crucial issue, then its effectiveness as a leading institution for world peace and security will have been
gravely impaired. The establishment of peace in the Middle East would
radiate its beneficient effects upon a tense & troubled world, and greatly
contribute to the prevention of World War III.

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 83d CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

(Not printed at Government expense)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, August 3, 1953

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the Congressional Record to be published within a few days after Congress adjourns a group of articles, resolutions, speeches, and editorials which I will supply for such printing. The materials are as follows:

* * * *

Sixth, Mr. President, for many months one of the most important and least discussed questions in regard to our European foreign policy has been the incipient and growing relationship between certain elements in Western Germany and the Russians.

In this regard a most illuminating memorandum has been prepared and circulated among Members of Congress by the Society for the Prevention of World War III. The society has now made this memorandum public, so I ask unanimous consent to have it published in the Appendix of the RECORD.

* * * * *

[From Prevent World War III] GERMAN REALITIES

I. GERMANY'S NATURAL ECONOMIC TIES ARE WITH RUSSIA AND THE EAST

Our rapid rebuilding of German industry has increased the pressure for resumption of these ties. German economic and political policy today shows that it is her purpose to broaden them as soon as possible

For decades the Germans have found the Russians to be one of their main trading partners. This is true, in spite of ideological differences which have existed through the years. German realpolitik and economic considerations have never been inhibited by divergent ideologies. An illustration of that fact may be found in a New York Times report from Germany, December 19, 1952, which disclosed that a group of leading German industrialists in the West had set up a committee sponsored by the West German Government to activate trade with the Soviet Union and Soviet-bloc countries.

The industrialists who are at the head of

Union and Soviet-bloc countries.

The industrialists who are at the head of this government-sponsored committee are by no stretch of the imagination pro-Communist. On the contrary, they were the key supporters of the Nazis, but just as after World War I powerful German industrialists strove to strengthen economic ties with Moscow, so do their successors of today. Just as the Weimar Republic, which was essentially anti-Communist, supported the activities of the German industrialists in the 1920's to strengthen economic relations with Mosties of the German industrialism in the 1920 s to strengthen economic relations with Moscow, so today the Bonn government which is anti-Communist, sponsors similar plans for closer economic ties with the East.

Illegal trade with Russia already great

A Senate subcommittee chaired by former Senator Herbert 1.. O'Conor reported:
(a) That during 1951 West Germany had

been conducting illegal trade in strategic materials with the east, amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars,

of millions of dollars.

(b) That this situation was extremely disturbing, particularly because the United States Government has the authority and the responsibility in the occupation of Germany.

(c) That in effect, the United States taxpayer is paying for this illegal trade.

(d) That up to the time of investigation by the subcommittee, Western Germany, an area in which the United States Government has had authority and responsibility, was a veritable open channel for the flow of goods of strategic significance to the east.

Many West German firms were charged with selling strategic materials to the Sovietbloc during the year 1952. The details were reported in the press. (See Associated Press, April 23, 1952, and the New York Times, June 4, 1952.)

West German plans for enlarged Russian

West German plans for enlarged Russian trade already far advanced

At the time when Secretary of State Acheson was flying to Germany for the signing of the contractual agreement the Associated Press, May 6, 1962, reported that the Lower House of the West German Parliament unanimously "voted in favor of wiping out western allied restrictions to trade with the Community Fast". The Parly News Associated munist East." The Reuters News Agency on May 20, 1952, reported "West German indus-trialists have set up an office for West-East trade and to promote commercial relations with Russia, China, and other Communist

Germany's natural hinterland

That Germany will look toward the Eart, and at the same time threaten the conomic and at the same time threaten the economic well-being of our most reliable allies, is a foregone conclusion if we persist in the policy of building up Germany's economic power beyond her genuine peacetime requirements. The vast markets in Europe and Asia which the Kremlin can offer to Western Germany is a reality which must be reckoned with, and which will have a decisive influence on German policy. German policy.

The natural hinterland for Germany has always been the East. It therefore follows that if the Germans are given excessive economic power and capacity they will inevitably be obliged to reestablish their previous large-scale economic relations with the Eastern countries now under Soviet domination.

In this connection, the New York Times, March 11, 1953, reported that the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Lower House of the

West German Parliament had recommended to the West German Government that it initiate a project to reexamine Germany's overall relations with the Communist controlled countries of Europe. "The recommendation reflected the deep seated hope, nourished by German nationalists, that the day would come when the great markets of East and southeast Europe would be re-opened to West German industry."

II. THE THEORY THAT GERMAN POLICY IS BASI-CALLY WESTERN IS HISTORICALLY FALSE

The assumption that Germany historically The assumption that Germany insorteany has had a predominantly western orientation in its foreign relations, economic and political activities, does not square with the record. The consistent pro-Russian orientation of leading elements in German life is a matter of historical fact.

matter of historical fact.

In this connection the State Department in its publication Confuse and Control (No. 4107, April 1951) notes:

"Hitter made much of Germany's position as the defender of Europe against the barbarlang from the East. But ever since Napoleon had conquered Germany and attacked Russin there has been much in complete the confusion of the co tacked Russia, there has been much in common between the upper military and social classes in Germany and in Russia. The Czar was closely related to the Kaiser. Bismarck's policy was always to cooperate with Russia. Now that Russia has a new ruling class as dictatorial as the old aristocracy, some of the old feeling of kinship is still to be found among extreme conservatives from Germany from the Junkers to the ex-Nazis. * * * "There is some feeling among the aristo-

crats that they might make terms with the Soviet aristocracy because of their ex-perience and ability, and might become indispensable and powerful members of the Soviet ruling class."

The consistency of the Eastern orientation

As a matter of fact, the political and ideological concept that Germany must ally with the East against the West is a very old and deeply rooted tradition in Germany's foreign policy. It was an important factor in Frederick the Great's diplomatic schemes 200 years ago, which resulted in a Russo-Prussian alliance on the basis of a partitioned Poland, This pro-Russian policy was strengthened under Bismarck, Following strengthened under Bismarck. Following the establishment of the Weimar Republic after World War I, the Rapallo Treaty of 1922 was signed between Germany and Soviet Russia. This treaty aimed at the secret rearming of Germany in violation of the Versailles Treaty and the establishment of a common front against the West. In spite of Hitler's avowed enmity and opposition to Soviet communism, the Nazi government joined hands with the Kremita. government joined hands with the Kremlin in 1939.

It should be noted that the pro-Russian orientation of Germany which manifested itself during decisive moments of history was never forsaken despite the type of government ruling the Germans, i. e. monarchy, democracy or dictatorship. Thus, on the basis of the historical record, Germany cannot qualify at the indispensable bulwark against Russian expansionism,

Soviet Russia's postwar policy supports a rearmed and heavily industrialized united Germany

Russia's policy in the postwar period has been carefully designed toward strengthening the powerful proeastern forces within Germany. However, the Soviets have never pursued fixed tactics in their general attempt to establish a common front between Germany and Russia.

The impression that the Russians would always insist on a weak Germany which, presumably, would create a climate for the growth of Communist influence, is contradicted by the repeated pronouncements of Stalin and Molotov advocating a united, rearmed, and heavily industrialized Germany.

Ideological considerations have always been secondary in Russia's policy toward Germany. Actually the Russians advocated a powerful and rearmed Germany regardless of political coloration, because such a Germa-ny would provide the Russians with greater possibilities.

III. PUBLIC OPINION IN GERMANT, AND GERMAN POLITICAL IDEOLOGY SHOW THAT SHE FGP-Release 2005 Of the frequency of RUSSIAN tribunal which had sentenced to death Hitchis communism than of western democracy ler's chief of staff, General Jodi. The German leadership.

Extreme nationalism and adherence to authoritarian concepts are controlling factors in German public opinion

The basic ideological concepts which have motivated Germany's aggressive actions in the past are a force which must be reckoned with in present-day Germany. For example, the State Department bulletin referred to above, in discussing the business world of Germany notes that there still remains the old habit of authoritarian control, which has more affinity for eastern than for western forms of government.

The tradition of dictatorial power is common among older business and industrial leaders in Germany, as it is among the upper social, military, and political parties. Former United States High Commissioner John J. McCloy, in his quarterly report of October-December 1951, notes:

"Unhappily, most of the established political parties have also been stocking the merchandise of nationalism. Individuals or circles, and in a few cases, even the control-ling elements of an entire state political organization, have expressed highly national-istic sentiments * * even some Federal ministers have not been above such actions. * * The use of the extreme nationalist narcotic creates the need for larger doses; whereas the users must ultimately find that they cannot subsist on talk alone, they must resort to some action to avoid decline. The consequences of such a course, if long continued, must be general disaster."

Congressional study commission finds lack of democratic orientation

A report by a special study mission of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs (February 1952) observed:

"In the light of the situation which has been summarized above and in view of the additional factors which will be enumerated, the subcommittee cannot escape the conclusion that the people of Western Germany sion that the people of Western Germany are not yet qualified to graduate from the course in democracy which has been offered to them during the occupation. It is the considered judgment of responsible United States officials, based on public-opinion polls and other sources of information, that too and other sources of information, that too many of the German people today believe that nazism contained more that was good than was bad."

The views of this committee were further confirmed by a report on German public opinion issued by the Office of Public Affairs, HICOG, in which it was stated:

"The majority of the German people cannot be counted on to resist the efforts of any Nazi-type group to return to power." (New York Times, January 18, 1953.)

An example of the extreme nationalism pervading all walks of life in Germany, is the derman Affairs in the Adenauer cabinet:
"No real Europe can be formed unless the
German bloc is reconstituted. I remind you that this bloc includes in addition to Germany, Austria, a part of Switzerland, the Saar, of course, and Alsace-Lorraine. When I think of the Strasbourg Cathedral, my heart hurts."

Extreme nationalism encourages anti-Ameri-can and antiallied attitudes

The resurgence of aggressive nationalism is a potent force in the planning and in the thinking of the Germans. For example,

it manifests itself in a growing barrage of anti-American and antialised criticism and vilification. It has been particularly marked by the growing crescende of demands for the freedom of the war criminals.

This campaign has the support of the Circ.

mands for the freedom of the war criminals. This campaign has the support of the German Government. Indeed, the Germans have now gone so far as to accuse the allies of committing the real war crimes. For example, at a recent gathering of the notorious SS Troopers, a convicted war criminal, General Ramcke, accused the allies of committing the real crimes. His abusive language. eral Ramcke, accused the allies of committing the real crimes. His abusive language was warmly applicated by Approximated For Releases 2000 bit of the type outlined amidst the shouts of "schweinehund Eisenhower" (Pig-dog Eisenhower)

lating the United States of America.

The Madrid graph of the type outlined above regularly. In this connection, a comparison of the Madrid directive with the statements made by leading German news.

man court exonerated the war criminal Jodi' man court exonerated the war criminal Jodi and prohibited the confiscation of his properties as dictated by the original verdict. The New York Times of March 5, 1953, noted that this action "leads the way for other German courts to whitewash Nazis condemned by the allies."

Results of the resurgence of German nationalism

It is now a matter of fact that the very forces which were the backbone of Germany's aggressive ambitions, of which nazism it-self was but one manifestation, are back in positions of power. The leading members of the present Bonn Foreign Office are overwhelmingly former Nazis and/or Ribbentrop diplomats (about 85 percent—according to press reports). Chancellor Adenauer, who acts as his own Foreign Minister for West Germany, and is therefore directly responsi-ble for this state of affairs, has publicly supported the use of affairs, has publicly supported the use of these Nazi diplomats, declaring that they possessed "advantages" that other officials did not have. (New York Times, October 23, 1952.) In this connection, it should be pointed out that it was these very same diplomats under Von Ribentron who served the consultant leading the bentrop who served the conspiracy leading to the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939.

In his Fifth Quarterly Report on Germany, October-December 1950, former United States High Commissioner McCloy made the follow-

ing comment:
"Critics of the densification program also point to the presence of former Nazis in importate the presence of former Mazis in important positions and in the public service generally. It is true that there are many former Nazis in public positions. Many are schoolteachers, mail carriers, policemen. Some few occupy higher positions, even in the state and federal governments. Many businessmen holding important posts were once members of the Nazi Party. Millions of former Nazis are reemployed, most of them in their former vocations."

IV. WEST GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY AND DOMESTIC POLITICS ALIKE SHOW PURPOSE TO BUILD UP INDEPENDENT CENTRAL EUROPEAN BLOC-NOT TO BECOME PART OF FREE WORLD ALLIANCE

The aim of German political planning has always been to establish Germany as the dominant power of Europe. Under present conditions this objective has taken the form of a concerted effort to build up a third-power bloc in Europe under German hegemony, which at the appropriate time would break away from the United States and make common cause with Moscow.

Germany's leading geopoliticians have pre-pared the secret third-power-bloc plan

The details of this plan will be found in a secret directive issued by the chief German geopolitical center in Madrid. The full text may be found in the recently published book Germany Plots With the Kremlin, by an outstanding expert on German geopolitics, T. H.

Tetens.

The Madrid directive calls for the following

(1) To avoid any hard-and-fast commitments by Germany on cooperation with the West, so as to remain free to come to terms with Soviet Russia.

(2) To build up anti-American sentiment in all western European countries.

(3) To extract as many concessions and dollars from the United States of America as

(4) To obtain all the advantages of contractual agreement and the other treaties with the West, without making significant reciprocal contributions.

feciprocal contributions.

(5) To establish a third-power bloc in western Europe under German domination.

(6) To prevent this third force from becoming involved in any conflict between Soviet Russia and the United States of America, that is to break up NATO. that is, to break up NATO.

(7) To employ the strategic position of the third-power bloc for purposes of striking a bargain with Soviet Russia and thereby isolating the United States of America.

The Madrid geopolitical serments and padd

Significant statements on the need to establish a third power bloc

The leading geopolitical paper of West Germany, Christ und Welt, which according to Mr. John J. McCloy is an Adenauer news-

to Mr. John J. McCloy is all Auchauer hous-paper stated:
"Continental Europe would break away from the Atlantic Pact if the Soviets agree to withdraw their forces behind the Prippet Marshes and release not only the Eastern gone of Germany, but the whole of Eastern Furops into the European Union. A Western Eone of Germany, but the whole of Eastern Europe into the European Union. A Western Europe standing on its own feet and possessing its own powerful army * * * could afford to carry out such an independent policy, because it would have the strength of a third power" (December 27, 1951),

Dr. Adenauer himself alluded to the same idea in a more diplomatic terminology. On May 20, 1950, he stated:

"A federated Europe will become a third force in the world, not as strong as Russia

force in the world, not as strong as Russia or the United States, but powerful enough to intervene successfully—in a decisive moment—to safeguard the peace * * * Germany has again become a factor with whom others will have to reckon in international affairs."

The Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (March 15, 1952), which is the mouthpiece of the Bonn Foreign Office and also represents the thinking of leading industrial circles

"What can Russia win if she plays her trump card? * * * In order to jump out of her present isolation she can, exactly as the Rapallo Treaty did 30 years ago, place Germany as a protecting buffer between East and West. From the politico-economic point of view, she should repeat the old game for world power position by concluding long-term agreements with German industry and by reviving her trade with Germany. Thus, Russia might reopen the door to the world

Note.—These are but sample quotations, the type of which can be found in all leading newspapers and publications in Germany, and also in the German language press in North and South America.

The danger of a German-dominated Western Europe

Europe

In view of this overall plan of the Germans to establish a third power bloc, their formal acceptance of integration with Western Europe would merely serve as a method by which they could achieve domination, which, in turn, is the principal precondition for striking a bargain with Russia at the expense of the United States. The danger of Germany dominating Western Europe was reported by Mr. James Reston in the New

York Times, April 26, 1950: "It is now recognized in official quarters that the potential economic and military power of Western Germany is so great that it is likely to dominate any purely Western European economic or military organization."

The creation of a third power bloc under German domination would in itself be a disaster to the American policy of trying to construct a united Europe as a defense against communism.

against communism.

against communism.

The fact that such a German dominated bloc would have a probable orientation toward the East, would be an additional dis-

The more rapidly we rebuild German heavy industry and permit her rearmament, the more probable become both of these dangerous results.

V. THE CONTRACTUAL AGREEMENT DOES NOT PURNISH EVEN A PAPER GUARANTEE THAT A UNIFIED GERMANY WILL BECOME OR REMAIN A PART OF THE WESTERN BLOC

In discussing a unified Germany's relationship to the agreements, Mr. McCloy told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the Germans agree that a unified Germany shall enjoy the rights and be bound by the obligations conferred and imposed upon the Federal Republic by the new agreements and 10.04400450615416 to the creation of an integrated European community. (Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations, U. S. Senate. June 11, 1952, p. 73.) U. S. Senate, June 11, 1952, p. 73.)

A unified Germany is not bound to the obligations of the contractual agreement, according to Chancellor Adenauer

The New York 'Times, May 14, 1952, reported that Chancellor Adenauer's coalition government had adopted reservations to the agreements, stressing that the "freedom of a future government of a unified Germany to negotiate, must not be too closely restricted by linking such a government with the present treaty system integrating West Germany and Western Europe as the Allies wish to do." This reservation had a decisive effect on the formulation of article 7 of the final agreement which reads:

final agreement which reads:
"In the event of the unification of Germany the three powers will subject to such adjustment as may be agreed, extend to a unified Germany the rights which the Federal Republic has under the present convention and the related conventions, and will for their part agree that the rights under the treaties for the formation of an integrated European community should be similarly extended upon assumption by such a unified Germany of the obligations of the Federal Republic toward the three powers or to any of them under those conventions and treaties."

The meaning of article 7 was discussed by Chancellor Adenauer in an interview with a German newspaperman on the northwest German radio, May 28, 1952. When asked by the German journalist if article 7 contains a clause that would automatically commit a future unified Germany to join the alliance with the West, the chancellor replied:

"The final text of article 7 says that a reunited Germany" can "claim the rights under the conventions" if it agrees "to submit to the duties."

Thus Chancellor Adenauer's view of article 7 clearly contradicts that of Mr. McCloy who told the Senate that a unified Germany is to be bound by the agreements.

Further clarification of Germany's attitude toward her obligation to the treatles was given by Chancellor Adenauer's coalition government which presented a resolution to be approved by Parliament that "the treatles were provisional and in force only until Germany had been reunited." (New York Times, December 5, 1952.)

It is therefore clear that the contractual agreement cannot satisfy the interests and

ambitions of a united Germany, nor does this agreement contain any guarantees against its unilateral repudiation by the government of a united Germany.

VI. PRESENT GERMAN PLANE SHOW NO INTENTION TOWARD CONTRIBUTING TO THE COMMON DEFENSE—IN FACT, THE BONN BUDGET CALLS FOR A TAX REDUCTION AND DECREASED EXPEND-ITURES IN DEFENSE ACTIVITIES NEXT YEAR (1953-54)

West Germany's Minister of Finance proposes tax reduction

An accurate gage of Germany's real at-

titude toward cooperation in the common defense of Western Europe is the German budget. While other countries of Western Europe have been heavily taxing their peoples to raise the sums necessary for defense, the Germans are determined to reduce taxes in the 1953-54 budget. Dr. Fritz Schaefer, Minister of Finance, announced that the German budget would provide for a 15 percent flat reduction in income taxes and a reduction of the corporate taxes from 60 to 40 percent. The New York Times (December 2, 1952, and January 28, 1953) reported that the 1953-54 defense budget for Germany would be 9 billion deutschemarks or \$2,143,000,000. This would amount to a reduction of 1,200,000,000 deutschemarks from the defense budget of 1952-53 if it is assumed, in accordance with the contractual agreement, that Germany has been contributing 850 million deutschemarks (occupation and defense costs) on a 12-month basis, starting April 1, 1952.

basis, starting April 1, 1952.

In contrast to the German attitude toward defense contribution, the French defense budget for 1953-54 is approximately \$4 billion, which places a per capita burden of \$100. For the Germans the per capita defense contribution would roughly amount to about \$50.

Germany expects the United States of America to foot the bill

That the Germans are looking to the United States to underwrite the greater portion of the costs for the arming of 12 German divisions (approximately \$10 billion) is confirmed by Chancellor Adenauer himself (Associated Press, December 6, 1952) U. S. News & World Report, December 26, 1952), notwithstanding the fact that West Germany today is once again the most powerful industrial nation in Western Europe. West Germany is now foremost industrial power in Western Europe

The New York Times, December 21, 1952 noted: "The production index which stood at 138 last July rose to 167 in November 1952, a postwar high and a remarkable increase in so short a time." The U. S. News & World Report, February 29, 1952, reported: "West Germany has a larger civilian industrial plant now than it did before the war. Industrial production has trebled in a little over 3 years."

An indication of Germany's power may be

An indication of Germany's power may be seen from the fact that West Germany "increased its 1952 production of steel by 17 percent over that of 1951, producing 17.4 million tons." (Wall Street Journal, February 10, 1953.)

A special report, November 1952, by the Committee for Economic Development on the economic situation in Western Europe, deciared: "Germany's stock of machine tools at the end of the war was above the prewar level and actually as great as that of the United States." In connection with the 1952-53 budget, the report declares that 40 percent of it is devoted to social welfare costs and "Germany has benefited from the absence of fixed interest charges since the pub-

lic debt was wiped out."

Germany's export trade has reached approximately the \$4 billion mark, far above prewar levels. She has again become a first-class exporting nation, fivaling Great Britain and the United States. In view of these

basic economic facts, it cannot be said that Germany does not have the economic power to make a contribution to the common defense of Western Europe.

Germany stands pat

It is not the lack of power but the lack of will which explains why the Germans are refusing to sacrifice as the other powers of Western Europe. The German attitude can only be explained in terms of Germany's real interests and ambitions which are diametrically opposed to sincere cooperation with the West.

Conclusions

Qualities which are requisite for a nation to play a major role as an ally of the United States are therefore completely lacking so far as Germany is concerned.

far as Germany is concerned.

(a) It has been stated that a remilitarized Germany as part of a European defense force would strengthen the West against Soviet aggression. However, in the light of facts mentioned above, it is clear that German armed forces will only be employed by any German government for the aggrandizement of German power. To accomplish this aim, the Germans would not hesitate to drag the West into a war for their special interests, or to establish close ties with the Russians at the expense of western security.

(b) It has been assumed that the solidarity of Western Europe, would be strengthened by the inclusion of Western Germany. However, since this policy was announced and efforts made to implement it, there has been growing disunity in Western Europe. In short, this policy, rather than strengthening western unity against Soviet totalitarianism, is creating the opposite result. The attempt to enforce this policy creates still deeper fears and suspicions among the peoples of Western Europe who live closer to the Germans, who have suffered at the hands of the Nazis and the German cartelists, and who are well aware of the fact that the Germans will settle for nothing less than complete mastery of Europe.

(c) It is also a fact that this policy strengthens the Soviet's grip over her eastern satellites, whose peoples dread the resurgence of the German power which devasted their lands.

(d) It is therefore clear that if the United States is to avoid a breakdown of Western European unity against Soviet totalitarianism which would pave the way for the emergence of a Soviet-German bloc confronting the United States with overwhelming power, a thorough re-examination of our policies in Germany should be undertaken immediately, as one of the most urgent problems involved in our planning for defense against Communist aggression.



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German Realities, 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 20, 1954

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the growing challenge of Soviet communism has compelled the United States to strengthen its political and military alliances all over the world. Toward that end, the United States has sought

to develop the full political, economic, and military potential of Western Europe, including West Germany. Many of us in the Senate have been hopeful that the European Defense Community would become a reality, but there is growing evidence that France and possibly Italy will refuse to become parties to the proposed implementation of the EDC treaty without modifications which seem to be unacceptable to most of the other nations involved. It is obvious that the United States State Department, through our Secretary of State, has not improved American relations with France over the EDC issue. A great deal of anti-American feeling has been aroused in France because of the French popular conception that Secretary of State Dulles is seeking to diplomatically pressure France into accepting EDC without any modifications.

Those of us who favor EDC as a general policy should not overlook the fact that French fear of German military might is a deep-seated historical one, and with cause. Likewise, we should not overlook the fact that dismissing French obligations to EDC on the ground that they stem from a French emotional attitude toward Germany does not in any way change the hard cold reality that the spirit of French nationalism is a very deep one when it comes to French and German relations.

I think great progress has been made since the end of World War II, in minimizing some of the high psychological barriers that have stood for so many decades between the French and German people. There is a great danger, as I see it, that the apparent intransigent attitude of our Secretary of State in connection with the EDC issue and his apparent take-it-or-leave-it attitude as far as the French population is concerned, have only served to intensify French opposition to EDC.

I happen to be one who believes that this cause of freedom in Europe requires a cooperative military and economic program among all free nations, including France and West Germany. I happen to be one who believes that France and West Germany have as much to lose from any aggressive course of action by Russia against the United States as has the United States itself. In fact, it should be perfectly obvious to West Germany and to France that they probably would be the first to fall in the event of a third world war that would involve a military contest between communistic nations on the one side and free nations on the other.

It is also true that not only are the people of France concerned about the direction taken in Europe by the free nations in respect to building defenses against communism, but the people of West Germany are also concerned and they have a right to be. Great differences of opinion exist in the United States and, for that matter, right here in the Senate of the United States, as to whether or not West Germany is ready for all the indepedence and sovereignty that EDC and other proposed international agreements would grant to her.

It has been my position, and still is, that West Germany should be brought

back into the family of free nations just as rapidly as the facts show that she is ready and willing to assume the obligations and responsibilities of a democratic nation. I recognize that there are many individuals and groups in the United States who fear that those of us who have supported EDC in the Senate and who have supported other benefits and aids to West Germany which have been aimed at restoring national sovereignty to West Germany as rapidly as possible, are mistaken in some of our judgments and policies. I hope I have always evidenced here in the Senate a willingness to weigh both sides of an arugment, and consider various conflicting points of view on any issue.

Thus I know that I, along with other Members of the Senate, have received protests from those who believe that the United States is moving too rapidly in strengthening the military position of Germany. Those who hold to such a point of view raise such questions as these: Can we depend upon Germany as a trustworthy ally of the free world? Do Germany's fundamental interests coincide with those of the United States and the countries of West Europe? Does the participation of Germany as a leading factor in West European alliances strengthen or weaken the unity of West Europe?

It was about a year ago that the Society for the Prevention of World War III, Inc., published an analysis of such questions in the society's magazine, Prevent World War III. The analysis was submitted to Members of the Congress, and upon request and because I thought the point of view presented should be studied on its merits, I placed the analysis in the Congressional Record under the title, "German Realities."

As a followup to this study, the Society for the Prevention of World War III, Inc., has now published German Realities, 1954, in the latest issue of Prevent World War III. Again, upon request, I have been asked to insert the analysis in the Congressional Record, and I hereby ask unanimous consent to do so, but with the clear understanding that inserting it in the Congressional RECORD does not mean that I agree with all the observations of the analysis. However, I do agree that the points of view expressed in the analysis should be considered as we study and formulate American foreign policy.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GERMAN REALITIES, 1954

United States policymakers contend that a powerful remilitarized Germany would be a reliable and indispensable bulwark against the aggressive forces of communism led by Soviet Russia. It was with this in mind that the society submitted to Members of Congress, during the spring of 1953, its analysis of the German problem in relationship to Western Europe and Soviet Russia. In the introduction to our analysis it was stated:

"However great Germany's economic and military potential may be, it does not follow that Germany's real interests are commensurate with ours or those of our western allies. A country no matter how strong, cannot be a trustworthy and effective ally if its interests are basically opposed to the

other members of the proposed alliance. The effective and enduring strength of any coalition must ultimately rest on a common heritage and a harmony of interests shared by the major participants. Allies must be reckoned in terms of reasonably certain performance—not in terms of wishful thinking.

"A realistic assessment of the qualities of the proposed major ally—in this case Germany—is essential in determining whether Germany will serve the western alliance or disintegrate the cohesiveness of the West."

The memorandum submitted below provides additional evidence in support of our original appraisal.

I. GERMAN-SOVIET ECONOMIC RELATIONS

In our analysis we cited facts to show that Germany's "natural economic ties are with Russia and the East." It was further stated that the rapid rebuilding of Germany's industrial potential increased the pressure for the resumption of these economic ties. Additional information has now come to light lending further support to this view.

lending further support to this view:
(a) The Christian Science Monitor (April 17, 1954) carried a report revealing that 3 months after the contractual agreement with Bonn had been drawn up, a secret conference was held in Copenhagen in August 1952 between authoritative representatives of German business and delegates representing Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Anastas Mikoyan. "The conference was called at West German initiative with the knowledge of the West German Government, presum-ably Chancellor Adenauer himself." The sensational disclosure was made by Foreign Minister Molotov during the Berlin Conference. As far as we know, Molotov's revelation did not appear in the American press until it was reported in the Christian Science Monitor. According to the Christian Science Monitor correspondent "talks between Moscow and Bonn, or rather Düsseldorf, the economic center of the Ruhr, have been going on for about 3 years.'

In this connection the United Press (October 14, 1953) reported that West German businessmen had closed their first postwar foreign trade deal with Russia "with the blessings of the West German Government at Bonn." The United Press reported, "West German financial experts insist if the cold war were ended, West German trade with the Soviet bloc would jump up a billion dollars in 12 months."

(b) In an interview with the magazine World (May 1954) West Germany's leading industrialist and convicted war criminal Alfred Krupp said:

"In the long run West Germany cannot continue her economic advancement without being reunited with East Germany, because both parts of Germany must be considered an organic whole. An expansion of trade volume (with East Germany and Soviet-bloc countries) would without doubt contribute considerably to a solution of West Germany's export problems."

(c) Hitler's financial adviser and accused

(c) Hitler's financial adviser and accused war criminal Halmar Schacht, now a private banker in Düsseldorf, told Fortune magazine (April 1954): "Germany's future? Trade with the East. Wonderful market, Russia."

(d) There is a close similarity between the views expressed by Krupp and Schacht on the one hand and those of Chancellor Adenauer. Thus, the Frankfurter Aligemeine Zeitung (July 7, 1953) reported the Chancellor as stating that it was to Russia's interest to resume friendship with Germany. In this connection he noted:

In this connection he noted:

"Aiready today the states of the European Schumann plan have formed a market of 157 million people. Thus, these countries are for the Russian economy a highly interesting trading partner. The German and Russian economies once before complemented each other in a magnificent way. The economy of an integrated Europe, in-

cluding Germany, could offer even more. The greater the economic meshing (between

The greater the economic mesning (between Western Europe and Russia), the greater the political security."

(e) The executives of one of Germany's largest shipbuilding companies, the Howaldt Works of Kiel, recently went to Moscow to negotiate with Kremlin authorities for the construction of ships with a total estimated construction of ships, with a total estimated

value of \$28 million.

(f) The Associated Press (June 2, 1954) reported that the first West German trade delegation to Russia since the end of the war would leave for Moscow shortly. Representatives from Germany's leading industrial, trade, and banking circles will negotiate with the Russians for the greatest possible volume of trade.

II. GERMANY'S ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH COMMUNIST CHINA

Trade with Communist China is regarded as vital to Germany's interests. The importance of the China market is discussed frequently in the German newspapers and financial journals. Thus, according to Handelsblatt, the leading economic journal inthe industrial Ruhr, many German businessmen view the China mainland as the greatest future market in the world (New York Herald Tribune, March 21, 1954). The following newspaper items highlight the growing importance of Germany's trade with Communist China:

(a) The Associated Press (February 5, 1954) reported that Red China's trade delegation located in East Berlin was swamped with offers from West German businessmen

seeking to trade with China.
(b) The Associated Press, (April 2, 1954) reported that West German exports to Communist China have increased ninefold in the The main German exports to China are iron goods, machinery, electrical goods, high precision and optical instruments, and pharmaceutical products.

(c) It has been reported that 10,000 West German firms registered with East German Chamber of Commerce, hoped to do at least \$40 million worth of business with China.

(New York Post, April 5, 1954.)

(d) During the Geneva Conference, a group of leading German businessmen were scheduled to meet with Lei Jenmin, Com-munist China's Vice Minister for Foreign Trade. According to the New York Herald Tribune (June 5, 1954), "the West German group is coming with the knowledge of the Adenauer government."

III, POLITICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN GERMANY AND THE SOVIET BLOC

The resurgence of Germany's economic dealings with the Communist East has prompted prominent German leaders to suggest closer political ties. It will be recalled that the consummation of the notorious Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939 had been preceded by marked reactivation of trade between Russia and Germany:

- (a) While German businessmen were negotiating their first postwar trade agreement with the Soviets in October 1953, Chancellor Adenauer granted an interview to the United Press, in which he stated: "If the Soviet Union desires a special one [separate political agreement] with Germany, let them have
- (b) Karl G. Pfleiderer, a leading member of the conservative Free Democratic Party, which is part of Chancellor Adenauer's governmental coalition, has publicly advocated diplomatic ties with the Soviet bloc. In a speech in the Bonn Parliament, he urged that West Germany end its isolation from the part of the world that extends "from Warsaw, Prague, Budapest, Sophia, and Bucharest through Moscow to Peking in the
- (c) This proposal received strong support, as reflected in a statement by West Germany's leading conservative newspaper, the

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung. This paper stated, in part: "It lies in the nature of [West German] 'independence' and 'equal rights' that our Foreign Ministry cannot in the long run be prevented from sending representatives to the Eastern States." York Herald Tribune, April 12, 1954.)

The Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung was repeating a view which it held as early as

April 1, 1950, when it said:

"Germany was always the bridge between the East and the West. * * * The Allies are not able to come to an accord with the Rus-sians. * * * What is then more natural than for us to say, in view of the present pressure: If until now, within the framework of world events, the others were not able to make an intelligent agreement, then it is our duty finally to arouse ourselves in order to obtain at least an economic understanding.

"In doing so we will not turn to the little bosses of the Eastern Zone but directly to the big boss in Moscow. There is where decisions are being made."

(d) Chancellor Adenauer himself told the press in Hamburg (Associated Press, May 17, 1953) that diplomatic relations between West Germany and the Soviet Union "might be established in the not too far future." asked to elaborate he replied, "one should not make an excursion into high politics.

(e) The New York Times (June 5, 6, 1954) reported important speeches by Hans Luther reported important speeches by Hains Industrial and Heinrich Bruening, former German Chancellors, before the powerful Ruhr industrialists at their exclusive Rhein-Ruhr Club. Both speakers called for the scrapping of the so-called pro-Western policy, a rapprochement with Eussia and the restoration of the Stresemann strategy, i. e., the playing off of the East and West against each other so as to strengthen Germany's world position. IV. UNDEMOCRATIC TRENDS IN GERMANY TODAY

In our analysis it was stated that "extreme nationalism and adherence to authoritarian concepts are controlling factors in German public opinion." It was also noted that traditional German political ideology is a much more logical ally of Russian communism than of Western democracy. In this connection there has been a general upsurge of extreme nationalism and militaristic propaganda. This ominous development is partially reflected in the widespread campaign to free Germany's war criminals, to absolve Germany's war guilt and to glorify German militarism. Moreover, it has been observed that key figures in Germany's political life have aided and abetted this campaign.

- (a) The Associated Press (March 14, 1954) reported that at the annual convention of the so-called German Soldiers Union representing 100,000 former members of Hit-ler's Wehrmacht, a resolution was unan-imously passed demanding freedom for the "still imprisoned innocent German sol-diers." The meeting was addressed ing German figures, Hermann Ehlers, President of the German Bundestag, told his audience: "We German soldiers have the right to be shown the same respect that is given abroad to those who have done their duty like us." Former Admiral Gottfried Hansen denounced the Allies for imprisoning these war criminals, Franz Josef Strauss, a member of Chancellor Adenauer's cabinet, "continuity of tradition between German soldiers of World War II and the German soldiers of the future."
- (b) The Christian Science Monitor (March 5, 1954) reported that the Germans intended 'to honor Nazi war criminals." was made of officials of the town of Hamelin in Germany who announced that they would exhune the bodies of 91 executed Nazi war criminals including the leaders of the Belsen concentration camp. The German authorities said that these criminals would be given "a worthy final resting place" in the city cemetery. According to the Christian Science

Monitor public sentiment "seems in favor of the transfer." One German newspaper referred to the Nazis as "alleged" war criminals.

(c) The development of extremist senti-ment and activities is also indicated by the deliberate campaign to arouse irredentism among the Germans.

(1) Old militaristic songs such as We March Against England and Victoriously We Shall Defeat France are being sung again at the meeting of German veterans.

(2) Sudeten Germans are encouraged to agitate for the seizure of a part of Czechoslovakia which had been handed over to Hitler on the basis of the Munich pact. Theodor Oberlaender, Minister for Refugees in the Adenauer Cabinet, has insisted on a solution of the so-called Sudeten German question in the spirit of the Munich pact." November 6, 1953.)

(3) Minister President Karl Arnold of the State of North Rhine-Westfalia has demanded the return of territories which are now Netherlands. part of Belgium and the (Associated Press, March '8, 1954.)

(d) German justice has not been unaf-fected by the above-mentioned undemocratic trends.

(1) In December 1953, the West German Supreme Court decided to reject an application from the Dutch for the extradition of a number of Dutch Nazi war criminals who had broken out of a Dutch prison and sought refuge in Germany. The decision of the court was based on a decree issued by Hitler

in May 1943 granting German citizenship to foreigners who joined the SS. (2) The Associated Press (March 31, 1954) reported that 20 former Nazi policemen who had admitted massacring 110 Jews in the Warsaw ghetto, were acquitted by a German court on the grounds that their scant formal education prevented these criminals from realizing that they committed a misdeed. Some of the defendants are still in the police force in Dortmund and are eligible for promotions and pensions.

(e) The German press has also been adversely affected by these dangerous trends. It is a fact that important sections of the German press today are controlled by the very same elements who gave aid and comfort to Hitler and the Nazis. The following

are examples:

(1) Giselher Wirsing, a ranking senior officer in the SS and an old friend of Ribbentrop, has been appointed political adviser to the editor of Die Welt which until a year ago was under British control. (New York Post, February 1954.)

(2) The former Nazi editor Zogelman is now chief editor of the German newspaper Fortschritt which speaks for big business

interests in Düsseldorf.

(f) Propaganda and intrigue against the Western democracies are rising. Such notorious supporters of Hitler as Franz von Papen and Otto Skorzeny maintain close contact with the Nazi geopolitical center in Madrid for the purpose of facilitating the dissemination of anti-American and antidemocrate propaganda throughout the world. Herr Hjalmar Schacht, Hitler's financial adviser and accused war criminal, has also been busy in bolstering Germany's interests abroad at the expense of the Western democabroad at the expense of the Western defined racies. He has been particularly active in the Middle East, where German militarists and businessmen help fan the fires of anti-western sentiment. Simultaneously with these activities neo-Nazis are working hand in glove with Communist propagandists in These machinations were exposed Germany. at length in the Reporter magazine (April 13, 1954) under the title, "Germany: Where Fascism and Communism Meet.

(g) Antiallied sentiment within Germany is by no means confined to the lunatic fringe of the extreme right or extreme left. the leader of the Socialist-Democratic Party, Erich Ollenhauer, attacks the Allied High Commissioners alleging that they had made

it "coldly and brutally clear to us that we have not such sovereignty as entitled us to decide upon such constitutional amend-ments." Dr. Thomas Dehler, chairman of the Free Democratic Party (part of the Adenauer coalition) declared, "every German must be pained at the thought that changes in our constitution still depend upon the will of the allies." (Christian Science Monitor, April 26, 1954.)

V. FORMER NAZIS AND HITLER SUPPORTERS IN THE EONN GOVERNMENT

There has been a marked influx of former Nazis in leading positions in the German Government.

(a) Members of Chancellor Adenauer's Cabinet who were Hitler supporters and Nazis are: Waldemar Kraft, minister without portfolio; Theodor Oberlaender, Minister for Refugees and Expellees; Gerhard Schroeder, Minister of Interior; Victor Emandel Province Winister, The Nazi uel Preusker, Housing Minister. The Nazi background of these persons was reported in the New York Times (April 17, 1954).

(b) The head of Dr. Adenauer's Chancel-lery is Hans Globke, who was legal adviser to the Nazi Minister of the Interior in the Hitler regime. Dr. Globke helped write the official commentary on the Nuremberg racial

(c) The counselor of the Bonn Ministry of Justice is Dr. Franz Massfeller, who wrote the official commentary to the Hitlerite laws "for the protection of German blood and honor." He participated in the Wannsee Conference which was concerned among other things with the question of instituting compulsory sterilization.

(d) Former Nazis are inflitrating government departments to an slarming degree. A case in point is the Bonn Foreign Office, where 66 percent of its leading personnel, according to Chancellor Adenauer, are former Nazis and Ribbentrop diplomats.

VI. GERMAN MILITARISM AND THE EDC

It has been stated that a military contribution by Germany through the European Defense Community (EDC) is essential to the defense of the West against Communist aggression. However, in our 1953 analysis it was pointed out that the EDC would not be legally binding for a united Germany. Hence, in the event of German unification, the West will be confronted with a remilitarized, united Germany which can make alliances on its own terms and conditions. Certain aspects with regard to the proposal to remilitarize Germany deserves to be examined here:

(a) It has been publicly stated by leading German officials including Chancellor Adenauer, that the major costs for the rearming of Germany must be borne by the United States, (statements by Chancellor Adenauer, Associated Press, Dec. 6, 1952; U. S. News & World Report, Dec. 26, 1953). On the other hand, the German Finance Minister has recently proposed a drastic reduction of the tax burden. For example, he has suggested that corporate taxes on undistributed income should be cut from a rate of 60 percent to 45 percent. (Business Week, Mar. 20, 1953). Commenting on these tax proposals, the financial editor of the New York Journal-American exclaimed: "Who won the war?" and further pointed out that taxes on United States business will top those obtaining in Germany (March 12, 1954).

(b) On June 22, 1953, the New York Times reported that Chancellor Adenauer "was giv-ing serious consideration" to a proposal that former high officers of Hitler's Waffen SS or elite guard be permitted to serve in the proposed German army. This in spite of the fact that the Waffen SS was declared to be a criminal organization by the International Tribunal at Nuremberg. In reply to an inquiry relative to the employment of Nazis and members of Hitler's Waffen SS in the

proposed German army, the United States State Department did not indicate opposition to the employment of such individuals

(c) The granting of respectability to war criminals may be seen by the fact that a calendar distributed by the Deutsche Soldaten Zeitung (a newspaper published by German militarists), carried an article contributed by the Blank Office which is responsible for the rearming of Germany. This very same calendar had as its frontispiece "a flattering page portrait of the former grand admiral. Erich Raeder, now serving a life term in the Spandau prison at Berlin as one of the major military asso-(New York Herald ciates to Adolf Hitler.

Tribune, Dec. 9, 1954)
(d) The chief military adviser to Chancellor Adenauer, General Heusinger, has publicly eulogized the war criminal General Jodi hanged at Nuremberg. The State Department has not requested Heusinger's removal because it is satisfied that he is "reliable."

(e) The war criminal, former field marshal, Albert Kesselring who was responsible for the massacre of Italians when he commanded the Nazi troops in Italy, was granted permission to tour an American air force base in Germany. Kesselring is the head of the revived militaristic organization, the Stahl-helm, which actively collaborated with the Nazis before the war. (Associated Press Feb. 7, 1954.)

(f) The efforts to accord unwarranted lenient treatment to German war criminals is indicated by their premature release by clemency boards in which the Germans themselves participate. Though the release of these war criminals is a matter of great public concern, the allied authorities de-cided to cease publication of the names and the reasons for granting clemency. Allied, prodded on by Chancellor Adenaur, have sought reconsideration of the status of the major war criminals located in the Spandau prison in Berlin. The New York Times (April 6, 1954), commenting on this

action, stated:
"" • The decision to reconsider the status of these men culminates a long series of actions by the western powers to ameliorate the condition of German war criminals. The moves have been made in response to German pleas for clemency and to clear the way for West German participation in the European Defense Community.

VII. RECARTELIZATION OF GERMANY

It is a matter of record that the German cartels and trusts played a notorious role in undermining normal commercial relationships among the nations and in helping Germany to secretly rearm after World War I. Today, in spite of allied laws and regula-tions, the German cartels and trusts are

(a) Wall Street Journal (August 27, 1953) carried a special report declaring that German trade and industry "are returning to their traditional prewar patterns of cartels and trusts."

(b) German heavy industry is in the fore-

front of the movement to revive the prewar steel and coal cartels of Europe. By nating these cartels prior to World War II, the Germans were able to exercise a decisive influence on the economies of her future victims.

(c) The New York Times (April 13, 1954) reported that the Ruhr coal and steel industrialists are campaigning to scuttle the Schuman plan organization. The German Schuman plan organization. industrialists are beginning to fear that the Schuman plan organization may thwart their efforts to dominate Western Europe. As reported by the New York Herald Tribune (April 9, 1964), the Germans regard themselves as "being dominant among the partners in industrial power but as having only a limited ability to influence the group's

(Schuman plan organization) policies." The German cartelists' resentment toward the Schuman plan organization as a roadblock to their ambitions was also reported in the U.S. News & World Report (April 30, 1954) and in the New York Times (May 4, 1954).

(d) Though the allies adopted policies which were designed to break up the cartels and giant monopolies, effective implementation has not been achieved in many important cases. Now the responsibility has been turned over to the Germans, and they are in the process of passing phony 'egislation on the subject.

VIII. CONSEQUENCES OF CERMANY'S RESURGENT POWER

(a) The authoritarian and aggressive spirit is on the march again. Postwar moods of defeatism and ingratiation, often mistaken as signs of progress toward democracy, have been replaced by bluster and arrogance. Important sections of the German press reflect this ominous trend. Thus, there have been frequent warnings in German newspapers to the effect that unless Germany has its way, it will not collaborate with the West.

The Hamburger Anzeiger demands that the Bonn Government "make it clear to the western powers much more energetically than before, that the intensity of our friendship for them will depend on the intensity of their efforts to solve the German problem. (Quoted in Paris edition of the New York Herald Tribune, Mar. 1, 1954.)

The Rheinische Post (December 8, 1953) which is a mouthpiece of Chancellor Adenauer's party, warned the West that unless the French become more tractable, Germany may support the Tauroggen policy. Tauroggen refers to the time when the Germans, in a sudden turnabout, allied them-selves with the Russians to defeat Napoleon.

Under these circumstances it is a source of wonderment that German technicians have been permitted to work on "the United States Army's new top secret 200-millimeter atomic cannon in West Germany." (Associated Press, February 28, 1954.)

(b) It is no coincidence that the opposition to European unity marked by divisions among the western allies and domestic strife, has grown in direct proportion to the increasing efforts of the United States policymakers to place Germany on the pedestal of power. European unity is being destroyed on the rock of Germany's resurgence. Yet, our policymakers persist in expending time, effort, and money trying to reconcile the irreconcilable.

CONCLUSION

Never before in our history has the United States based so much of its policy in Europe on a people who have time and again demonstrated their unreliability and un-trustworthiness. The challenge of Communist expansion can be overcome through the coalition of freedom-loving peoples who share common interests and purposes. That such a coalition is practical and necessary goes without saying, but the present policy of expediency can only end in disaster.